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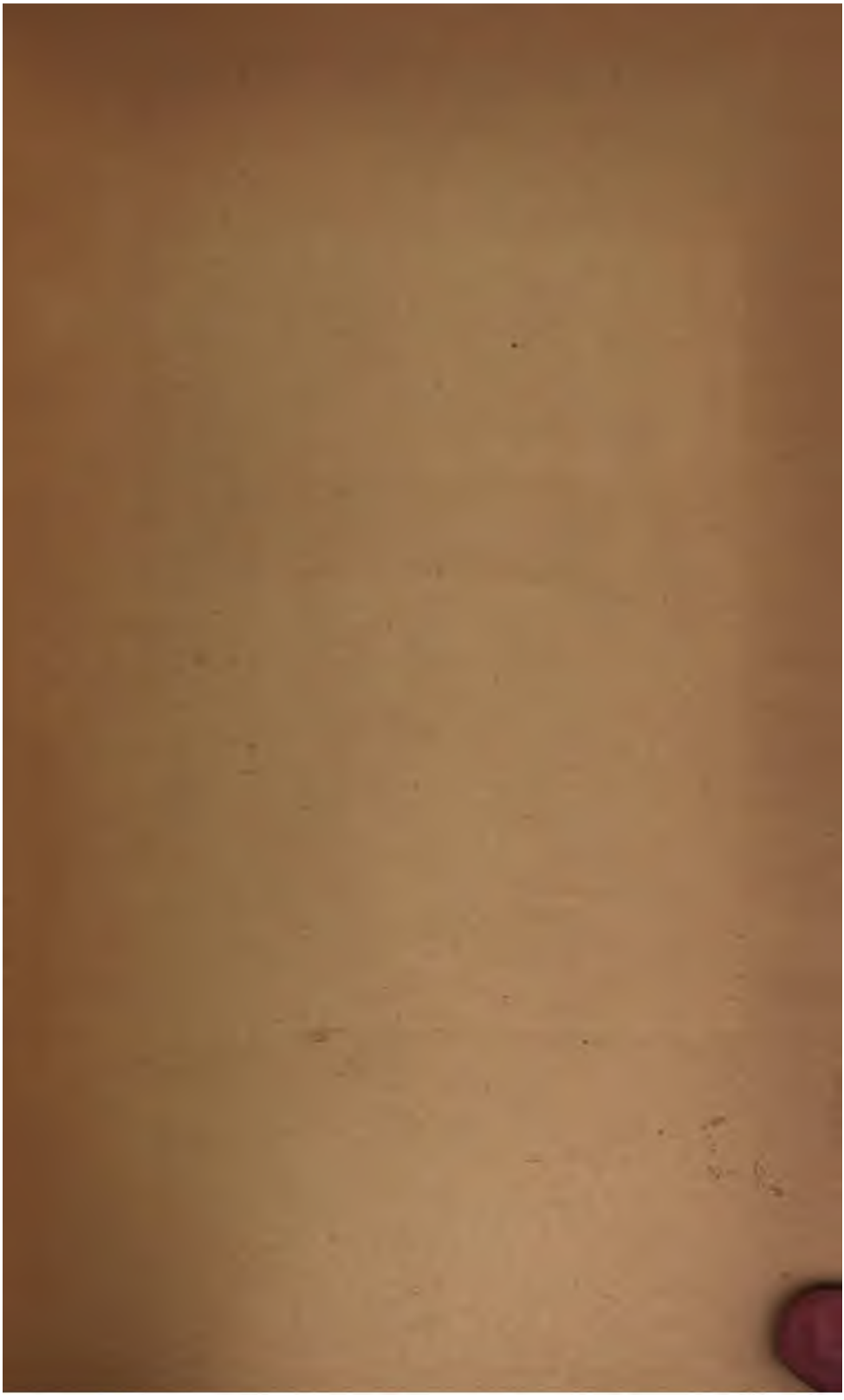

WORKS ISSUED BY

The Hakluyt Society.

THE TRAVELS
OF
PETER MUNDY,
IN EUROPE AND ASIA,
1608—1667.

VOL. I.

TRAVELS IN EUROPE, 1608—1628.

SECOND SERIES.

No. XVII.

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EDITED BY

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CAMBRIDGE:

PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

MCMVII.

137170

Cambridge:
PRINTED BY JOHN CLAY, M.A.
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

PREFACE ix

INTRODUCTION xiii

AUTHOR'S TITLE 1

AUTHOR'S PREFACE 2

AUTHOR'S CONTENTS 7

RELATION I. . . . . 13—40

Mundy goes to France, 13. Early voyages in Spain and Portugal, 14. Sails to Constantinople, 14. His voyage down the Mediterranean, 15—18. His description of Scanderoon, 19. Arrives at Constantinople, 21. "Computation" of miles travelled, 24. Author's "Supplement," 24—40.

RELATION II. . . . . 41—136

The journey from Constantinople to Belgrade, 41—72. Description of Belgrade, 72—75. Description of the Bulgarians, 76—78. The journey from Belgrade to Sarajevo, 78—81. The journey to Spalato, 82—86. In quarantine, 86—88. The voyage to Venice, 88—90. Description of Venice, 91—98. The journey from Venice to Turin, 98—109. Pindar's reception at Turin, 109—111. The journey over Mt. Cenis to Lyons, 111—119. On the Loire, to Orleans, 120—122. The journey from Orleans to Paris, 123—124. Description of Paris, 124—130. The journey from Paris to Calais, 130—133. The passage to Dover, 134. The journey to Islington, 135—136. "Computation" of miles, 136.

RELATION III. . . . . 137—145

Mundy goes to Seville, 137. Becomes servant to Richard Wyche, 137. Journeys to Spain, 138—142. Visits St Malo and Jersey, 143—144. Enters the East India Company's Service, 144. "Computation" of miles, 145.

PAGE

APPENDICES

A. Extracts from Blount's Voyage into the Levant . 146

B. Account of the Wyche Family 158

C. The *Royall Merchant* and Captain Joshua Downing. 166

D. The Levant Company and its agents at Constantinople in Mundy's time 171

E. Constantinople in the seventeenth century (Extracts from the Writings of Grimston, Gainsford, and Sandys) 183

F. Extracts from Des Hayes' *Voiage de Levant* and Bargave's *Voyages and Journeys* 199

G. Extracts from the Note-Books of Richard Symonds. 217

BIBLIOGRAPHY 236

INDEX 245

ERRATA 285

ILLUSTRATIONS

Author's Title-Page . . . . . *To face p.* 1

"Stakeing, Gaunching and Drubbinge" . . „ 55

"Severall Sorts of Swinginge" . . . . „ 58

MAPS

Mundy's Route in Turkey . . . . . „ 41

Mundy's Route in Italy . . . . . „ 88

Mundy's Route in France . . . . . „ 113

PREFACE.

PETER MUNDY began writing an account of his many travels in Europe and Asia as early as 1620, and continued his narrative at intervals thereafter up to 1667, compiling a huge MS. volume full of valuable matter of all sorts, and of exceptional interest to students of geography and history. It is therefore a matter of considerable surprise that his MS. should have remained practically buried from that time to this. It was known to Tonkin, the early 18th century Cornish historian, and to Thomas Fisher, "Searcher of Records" at the India Office in the early 19th century, but I have found only three references to it in works written during the last sixty-five years. In J. S. Courtney's *Guide to Penzance*, 1845, there is a short extract from the first *Appendix* and a brief notice of the work. In Boase and Courtney's *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis* (1874), vol. i. p. 379, there is a paragraph on Peter Mundy's *Travels*, and, in W. P. Courtney's article on Mundy in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (1894), attention is drawn to the value of his MS., which is commended to the notice of the Hakluyt Society.

My own acquaintance with Peter Mundy and his work is, however, primarily due to Mr William Foster of the India Office, who inspected the MS. at the Bodleian Library some five years ago, and furnished me with an abstract of its contents. Its scope is very wide, as it

comprises 17th century accounts of practically the whole of Continental Europe, parts of England and Wales, Western India, China and Japan, besides containing historical notes of no little value. It covers a period of sixty years, and it is doubtful if any other contemporary work of equal merit exists. The value of such a MS. to the student can therefore be hardly over-estimated, especially as a careful examination has shown that the author was an educated man, who, unlike most writers of his day, does not indulge in "travellers' tales," unless he qualifies them by the saving clause, "This by Relation."

The length of the MS. has necessitated its division into several parts for the purposes of this Society and, in order to keep the early European travels distinct from the Indian voyages, I have thought it best to confine this volume to Mundy's first three *Relations* and to supplement his information as far as possible from unpublished or little-known works dealing with his various journeys. For this reason, I have drawn largely on the MSS. of Richard Symonds and Robert Bargrave and also on the almost forgotten books of Des Hayes, Gainsford, Grimston, etc. The bibliography attached to this volume will show the extent to which the MSS. of the period, both at the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries, have been searched to find contemporary support for Mundy's statements.

The present transcript of the MS. forming the text of this volume has been made from the only complete copy known of Mundy's work, *Rawl. MS.* A. 315, in the Bodleian Library. It has been carefully collated with *Harl. MS.* 2286 in the British Museum, which contains a duplicate of the early travels only. The method of transcribing adopted is the same as that employed by myself in the case of the Bowrey MS. (Hakluyt Soc. Pub. 2nd series, vol. 12). That is, the author's spelling, with his capitals, is strictly adhered

to, but contractions have been written out in full and the punctuation has been altered where necessary for clearness. Marginal notes, when repeated in the text, have been omitted, and those of importance have been reproduced as footnotes. Such illustrations as appear in this part are exact reproductions of Mundy's own drawings, and on the three maps supplied are indicated the most important of his early European journeys.

As other volumes are to follow, the introduction to this volume contains only a brief summary of Mundy's career. A detailed account is, however, given of his actions during the years 1608—1628, the period covered by his first three *Relations*.

I have had many helpers in the task of preparing this first instalment of Mundy's Travels for the press. To Mr William Foster I am especially indebted both for calling my attention to the MS. and for much generous assistance in the work of editing. I have, besides, received assistance from many other scholars. In most cases my acknowledgements have been expressed in the notes to the text, but I beg here also to tender my hearty thanks to Professors Blumhardt and Wilson, to Mr Edwin Pears of Constantinople, Mr Donald Ferguson, Mr W. Irvine, Mr W. P. Courtney, Mr F. Cordeux-Rhys and to Dr Rudolf Sanzin of Vienna, for help on various points.

I have again to express my acknowledgements to Miss L. M. Anstey who has been continuously at work with me on this volume for the last two years. Without her assistance and powers of accurate research it is no exaggeration to say that the notes would have lost the greater part of their value. I also wish to record my appreciation of the services of Miss Alice J. Mayes, especially in connection with the references to the Levant Company.

I must further record my thanks to the Cambridge

University Press and Mr John Clay for excellence of printing and saving of trouble in proof-correction.

I have thought it best to attach a full Bibliography and Index to each volume as it is produced, in view of the length and scope of the whole work and of the number of years which must elapse before the final volume can be issued.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE NASH,
WORCESTER.
June, 1907.

INTRODUCTION.

THOUGH Peter Mundy was one of the most remarkable travellers that the West of England has ever produced, hardly anything is known of his parentage and family. The following facts are all that we can learn from his own writings. He was born at Penryn in Cornwall; his grandfather Peter Mundy was "Chanoon or Chantor" of Glasney College, Cornwall, about 1530; his parents resided at Penryn until about 1634; his father was, in his youth, apprenticed at Totnes; both his father and his uncle were engaged in the "pilchard business"; his paternal aunt married the Rev. John Jackson, rector of North Petherwin, Devonshire; he had at least one brother; and he himself went to Rouen with his father in 1608, when he was presumably about twelve years old. These meagre particulars are practically all that have so far come to light from any quarter, though it is hoped that, before the issue of the last volume of the *Travels*, additional information will have been unearthed.

According to Tonkin, the Cornish historian, Peter Mundy was the son of Richard Mundy, Senior, Merchant, but apart from Mundy's own references to his "father," no other mention has been found of him. Richard Mundy and his brother were both alive in 1621, when Peter travelled to Seville with pilchards on their behalf. His mother was alive up to 1611, after which date he makes no mention of his "parents." His father was alive in 1635, as is shown by reference to him in Mundy's *Preface*, but he was probably dead before 1645, the date of the

commencement of the St Gluvias burial registers at Penryn, as there is no mention of him there up to 1650, when my search ceased. A Robert Mundy was buried at Penryn on the 16th October, 1646, and was apparently the "Robert Mundy of Penrin, Merchant," on the marriage of whose daughter, Joan, with George Kest, *circ.* 1625, a settlement was drawn up between the fathers of the bride and bridegroom[1], but there is no clue as to whether he was the brother or son of Richard Mundy. Peter Mundy's parentage must thus for the present rest on conjecture.

The Penryn Mundys were most probably connected with the Mundys of Rialton Manor, in St Columb Minor, twelve miles north of Truro. These Mundys were the younger branch of the important family of Mundy of Marketon, Derbyshire, and Osbaston Hall, Leicestershire[2]. The founder of this family, John Mundy, flourished in the time of Edward I., and the eighth of the line became Sir John Mundy in 1495. Sir John's son and namesake was Lord Mayor of London in 1522–3 and died in 1538. He was the father of a numerous family, two of whom, Thomas and John, his fourth and fifth sons, made their way to Cornwall and founded the Rialton family. Thomas was Prior of Bodmin in the reign of Henry VIII. and died in 1554. John settled at Rialton Manor, a former appanage of Bodmin Priory. Perhaps the Prior's influence procured the appointment of "Chantor at Glasney College" for Peter Mundy, the traveller's grandfather. John Mundy's third son was Richard and, it may be, the father of Richard Mundy of Penryn, but there is no real proof of this. The only other Richard among the Mundys of Rialton, up to the middle of the 17th century, was Richard, tenth child of John Mundy and great-grandson of the first owner of Rialton. This Richard appears by his will to have died unmarried in 1647 and to have had no im-

[1] *Harl. MS.* 6243.

[2] See Nichols, *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. iv. p. 525.

mediate connection with our author. Richard's sister, however, married Hannibal Vivian, whose brothers were Peter Mundy's travelling companions on his voyage to Constantinople, as will be told later on.

Of Mundys of Penryn, besides Robert, mentioned above, the only two that have come to light are Anthony Mundy, living in 1599, and another Anthony Mundy who was buried in 1677. They were presumably father and son and are both described as "of Penrin," the elder being a "merchant" and Member of Parliament for the borough. Unfortunately, the facts connected with these individuals throw no light on their parentage, nor on Peter Mundy and his family. A search among the Mundy wills, proved in the P. C. C., has been equally fruitless. Still, by prosecuting enquiries in every likely direction, I trust that, with the issue of vol. ii. I shall be able to furnish some accurate information as to the origin of so unique a character as Peter Mundy.

As the scope of Mundy's work and the amount of matter that yet remains to be published are so large, I propose to give here but a brief chronological table of his whole career as gathered from his MS., and to follow him in detail only during the years 1608—1628, with the story of which this volume is concerned.

Brief chronological account of Peter Mundy's career.

1596 (*circ.*) Born at Penryn.
1608 Goes to Rouen with his father.
1610 At Bayonne learning French.
1613 At San Lucar with Mr Parker.
1615 At Seville with Mr Weaver.
1617 Goes to Constantinople with James Wyche in the *Royall Merchant.*
1620 Journeys to England overland from Constantinople.
1621 Goes to Penryn.
1621 Goes to Seville on the "pilchard business."

1622 Returns to England.
1625 Goes to Valladolid about the "Copper Contract."
1626 Goes to St Malo and Jersey.
1627 Returns to Penryn.
1628 Goes to Surat in the *Expedition* in the East India Company's service.
1634 Returns from India in the *Royall Mary*. Goes to Penryn, and is "welcomed home" by his friends.
1634 Makes a trading voyage to London in a "Lobster boate," and returns to Penryn *vid* Basing House and Winchester.
1635 Goes with Sir William Courten's fleet to India and Japan.
1638 Returns to England. Arrives in London, 15th December.
1639 Makes a "Petty Progresse" in England and Wales.
1640 Goes to Holland, Russia, Prussia and Poland on a trading voyage on his own account.
1647 Returns to Falmouth.
1650 At Penryn. Writes his first *Appendix* to his MS.
1654 In London. Writes notes on his early voyages.
1655 Makes his third voyage to India in the *Alleppo Merchant*.
1656 Returns to England. Arrives in London, 3rd September.
1658 In London. Writes an Appendix of contemporary events.
1663 Returns to Penryn.
1663—1667 At Penryn. Continues the chronicle of contemporary events, including news from India, the appearance of comets, etc. Concludes with a copy of the Proclamation after the Treaty of Breda, read in Penryn the 11th September, 1667.

Peter Mundy passed his childhood in his native town of Penryn in the south of Cornwall, a fitting nursery for a lad whose natural bent was travel and adventure, for it lies at the head of a creek, only two miles north-west

of the then important seaport of Falmouth, which took a prominent part in the English achievements against the Spaniards in 1588. If, as is probable, he was born in or about the year 1596, it is possible that Peter Mundy's youthful mind was filled with stories of the doings of the Cornish folk in those days. No doubt, also, he was well acquainted with the circumstances attending the catch of pilchards, "our Countrey Comoditie[1]," and had perhaps, from this source, acquired a knowledge of the sea and sailors.

His early instruction was most likely received at the "free Schoole" at Penryn, one of the three then existing in Cornwall, and also at North Petherwin, where he "liv'd awhile" with his uncle, the Reverend John Jackson, "Preacher and Pastor of that Parish[2]." In 1608, his father, Richard Mundy, took him, while still a lad, to Rouen, the capital of Normandy, on account of his education and perhaps in connection with the pilchard business[3]. At Rouen, Peter Mundy remained one month and was then sent to Bayonne to "learne the French Tongue[4]." There he stayed two years, returning to Falmouth in 1610.

In May, 1611, he commenced the work of a life that proved to be an exceptionally busy one, and left his home to serve with Captain John Davis as a "cabin-boy[5]," a position which was then apparently quite different from that occupied by the cabin-boys of to-day. The term seems to have signified a trade-apprentice rather than a menial servant. By the beginning of 1613, he is found to be in the care of Mr George Weaver, who lived with a Spaniard at Sanlucar de Barrameda at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, and who may have been engaged in the flourishing pilchard[6] and tin trade of Cornwall with Spain.

---

[1] See p. 137. [2] Mundy's first *Appendix*.

[3] "In France they utter their pickled Pilchardes." Norden, *A Topographical Description of Cornwall*, p. 23.

[4] See p. 13. [5] See p. 13 f.

[6] "The dryed ware (Pilchardes) they carrye into Spayne." Norden, *A Topographical Description of Cornwall*, p. 23.

Peter Mundy stayed with him about two years, until he went, at the end of 1614, to Seville under the orders of Mr Charles Parker. In this service he visited, for the purposes of trade, the ports at the mouth of the Guadiana. He had probably picked up some knowledge of Spanish from Señor Patinno at Sanlucar, and in the two years he spent at Seville he "attained[1]" that language. After an absence of five years and seven months, he returned to London with Captain Davis. He was now a young man of about twenty, well-equipped for that life of incessant travel which he subsequently led. A full record of his proceedings at this period does not appear to have come down to us, as he says that *Relation* I. refers only to "some Voyages etts. recalled to memory since my first settinge forth[2]."

On the 16th December, 1654, thirty years after he wrote *Relation* I., Mundy added to his earlier Remarks on France and Spain as follows[3]:—"*London, the 16th December, Anno* 1654. My intention is, if God spare mee life and leisure, to Copy outt this booke over againe, as well to rectifie whatt is amisse according to my abilitie, as allsoe to insert many things omitted by mee, amongst the rest some thatt follow, *Vizt.*

Roan, 1608. My first voiage was over to Roane in Normandy with my Father. The Citty lieth on the bancks of Seine, a River thatt runneth through the Citty of Paris, passeth by this, and att Newhaven[4] runneth into

---

[1] See p. 14. [2] See p. 24.

[3] The extracts quoted are taken from fol. 220 of Mundy's MS. and are entitled "The Appendix Somwhat concerning severall Citties, Places, etts." The length of the MS. is so great that these remarks were overlooked until it was ransacked for evidences of Mundy's life. Since they were discovered too late to print as the Author's *Appendix* to *Relation* I., I have thought it best to reproduce them here.

[4] I can find no record at this period of any other name but Hâvre de Grace for the port at the mouth of the Seine. Still, as the town was not a century old when Mundy visited it, having been founded by Francis I. in 1516, it is just possible that, in his day, it was known to Englishmen as the New Haven. The Sussex port, now called Newhaven, was then the village of Meeching, and possessed no harbour.

the narrow Seas, the Contention betweene which and the River produceth a strange effect, called by us the Bore, especially att Spring tide, for the River keeping his course against the tide of floud, which rising att length overmaistreth the River, in such manner that the streame which ran Downeward is in an instanc forced backe againe with exceeding swiftnesse and fearfull Noise heard A greatt way off[1]. This bore or tide head comes sodainely many foote high like great rouling feathering Waves, overturning smalle vessells, boates, etts. what it meetes in its way, making others fleete thatt are aground, and all this as I said on a sodaine appearing for a while like a tempestuous Sea thus only as it passeth by, and soe runneth farre up in to the Country[2]....

There is att Roan a greatt bell (which I allso saw not) through forgetfulnesse, butt heard much therof by others. There is written about it this verse:—

JE SUIS GEORGE DE GRANBOIS[3] DE CINQUANTE MILLE POIZ,
MAIS QUI ME PESERA, SOIXANTE MILL ME TROUVERA.

I heard a Dutch Captaine say that hee measured the Circumference, and that it was nine fathom and one span of his about the brymme; hee beeing a tall Man, it could not bee lesse then fifty-five foote in circumference, which is aboutt eighteen foote Diameter, and, as aforesaid, 60000 waightt[4] 600 quintalles[5] or 30 tonne.

There are allsoe many poore people, both men and

---

[1] The bore on the Seine extends as high as Caudebec, rises from one to three feet, and is similar to the bore at the mouth of the Severn to which Mundy compares it.

[2] Here Mundy adds a short paragraph about "The Tide head in Severne."

[3] A mistake. This famous bell was called George *d'Amboise*. It was cast by order of George, Cardinal d'Amboise, the favourite minister of Louis XII., and was hung in the Tour de Beurre, the loftier of the two towers of Notre-Dame at Rouen. The bell was melted down at the Revolution.

[4] *i.e.*, pounds. [5] A quintal of 100 lbs.

weomen; sometimes a man and his wife in stead of horses Drawing small Carrs, transporting of goods from place to place in thatt Citty.

Bayon, 1610. Bayon in Gascony lieth on the borders of France, betweene it and Spaine. There the Artisans wives wear an attire on their heads like unto Morions or head peeces, made of lynnen, stuft with Cotton, coullored with saffron, stucke with pinns[1]. I was told they wear it for a remembrance of their courage and resolution in assisting to expell the English from thence aboutt Anno 1453, wee holding thatt place and all Gascony besides many years[2]. (Search the Chronicles[3].) Servant Maides goe in their haire, which hangueth displayed and Dispersed over their backes and Shoulders, having the Crowne of their heads shaven Just as friers.

San Lucar, 1613. Att this place an Englishman married a Spanish woman (who Dwelled next Dore to us)[4] Killed his wife and one of the Kings Commissaries finding them together, who[5], after some trouble, was freed according to the lawes of the Country. Here lived then Don Alonso PERES DE GAZMAN DUQUE DE MEDINA SIDONIA, who was generall in 88[6], and Died before my comming from Spaine, aboutt Anno 1615[7].

Sevill, 1615. Of this Citty much might bee said, it beeing large, populous, Ritche, and a place of greatt trafficke. I will only relate a word or two of some particularities therin. The Bridge over which they passe to

---

[1] In the MS. there are two small drawings of male and female heads with the "attire" described.

[2] Here the author has a marginal note, "31th year Henry 6 [*i.e.* 1453]; wee held it 300 years." The dates are correct.

[3] This is probably a memorandum intended by Mundy for himself.

[4] *i.e.*, Mundy and Mr George Weaver. See *ante*, p. xvii.

[5] *i.e.*, the Englishman.

[6] Alonso Perez de Guzman, Duc de Medina Sidonia, who commanded the Spanish Armada in 1588, retired to San Lucar *circ.* 1595 and died there in 1615.

[7] Mundy left Spain and returned to England at the end of 1616.

TRIANA is built on greatt Lighters and mored att both ends, rising and Falling with the tide[1].

La GIRALDA DE SEVILLA or tower of Sevill. LA IGLESIA MAYOR or greatt Churche. The Steeple or tower of the greatt Church is exceeding high, very artificially built, soe thatt all the bells may bee seene from withoutt side, in number aboutt twenty-six. The great bell the best thatt ever I heard[2]. It may bee ascended on horsebacke untill you come to the said belles. On the top of all is the Image of a Woman standing on a globe, holding a banner in her hand, which serves as a fane to shew the winde. The said Image is called LA GIRALDA, from which the whole tower takes its name[3]. From the said tower I saw the high hills of GRANADA, accompted 40 leagues off; they are allwaies covered with snow. The Churche beelonging to the said tower is very large, faire and ritche, it having 500,000 Ducattes of yearly rent, admirably graced with rare and costly Images, pictures, etts. ornamentes within, And I conceave with the best musicke both for Instrumentts and voices thatt is in all Spaine.

EL ALCAÇAR, or King's house, att Sevilla. The Alcaçar (or as wee pronounce it Alcasar) or Kings house is allsoe an Elaborate Structure[4].

LA VEGA DE SEVILLA[5], or vally of Sevill, for proffitt and Delight nott to bee parallelled in the whole world for plentie, variety and excellency of Productions, take one with another. It lyeth in the best part of

[1] The Moorish bridge of boats over the Guadalquivir, connecting Seville with the suburb of Triana, existed until the middle of the 19th century. In 1845–52 an iron bridge was erected a little below the site of the ancient bridge.

[2] The Santa Maria, set up in 1588.

[3] The Giraldillo, or vane, is a bronze female figure, representing Faith, cast by Bartolomé Morel, in 1568. It stands on a small dome and holds the banner of Constantine.

[4] The palace of the Moorish Kings and a Spanish royal residence after the capture of Seville by the Christians in 1248.

[5] *Vega*, an open plain, a tract of level and fruitful ground. The district south-east of Seville is extremely fertile.

ANDALUZIA, which province is accounted the most fertill in all Spaine.

I had forgotten LA XARALL[1] DE SEVILLA, which is a large forrest of Olive trees round about the cittie, 18 leagues in compasse, somwhatt Distant from it, having many townes, villages, pasture, tillage, gardeins, etts. in and outt among itt. I was att Las dos HERMANAS (the two sisters), a towne soe called[2], filling oile in pipes at the oile Mills, lying aboutt two leagues off.

A Strange Ceremony. I was told thatt when the King of Spaine cometh thatt way and is to enter the Citty, they make a bridge for him thatt hee may com over the walls and not through any of the gates; for, through which gate so ever the King enters, all goods, Merchandize, etts., which shall either bee imported or exported through the same, shall bee Custom free, which would bee a greatt losse and hinderance to the Citty: soe the King is pleased to com over the walls as aforementioned.

AYAMONTE. I can say butt little of this place, only the Harbour or inlett Devideth Spaine from Portugall, on the Spanish side Ayamonte, on the other Castromarin. Into this Inlett or Creeke runneth the river GUADIANA, which, aboutt 40 leagues up in the country runneth into the ground, and aboutt 20 miles from thence, riseth outt of the earth againe[3]. This by relation and Description in mapps. I saw it not. I came from Sevill to this place[4], where I remained butt a little while. From hence I went over to Castro Marin Speto TAVILA in the Algarves[5], aperteyning to the Kingdome of Portugall.

[1] *Xaral* or *Jarál*, a place planted with the cistus or labdanum shrub (see Stevens' and Neuman and Baretti's *Spanish dictionaries*). Hence, probably, any plantation.

[2] Dos Hermanas is 9 miles from Seville.

[3] The Guadiana disappears 12 miles from its source (at Lugar-Nuevo) and for 15 miles is lost in a bed of reeds and rushes.

[4] *i.e.*, Ayamonte.

[5] Tavila or Tavira, in Algarve. Mr Donald Ferguson suggests that 'Speto' may be Mundy's mistake for *perto*, near. As it stands, the passage is unintelligible.

From these places are transported great store of figs, oile, etts."

Whether Mundy went to his home in Cornwall on his return to England after his absence in Spain is doubtful, as, within a fortnight, he was off again on his travels. This time to Constantinople, whence we know that he returned to Cornwall in 1621. His new master was Mr James Wyche, one of the numerous sons of Richard Wyche, a London merchant[1]. James Wyche went to Constantinople in the interests of his father, a member of the Levant Company, and Mundy seems to have been engaged as a mercantile clerk, an office for which his previous experience would render him well fitted. He sailed, in 1617, on the *Royall Merchant*, under the command of Captain Joshua Downing[2].

The *Royall Merchant* carried several passengers, all interested in the Levant trade. Mr James Garraway (or Garway), whose kinsman Thomas founded the famous coffee-house, and Mr Bartholomew Abbot, whose relative Sir Morris Abbot owned the ship, were on board. There were besides, two Cornishmen, Roger and Charles Vivian, sons of Hannibal Vivian "of Trelewarrein." The Vivians were connected by marriage with the Mundys of St Colomb Minor[3] and were probably no strangers to Peter Mundy[4].

To a man of Mundy's power of observation, the voyage through the Mediterranean was "full of various Novelties and delights[5]," and he tells us of several matters characteristic of sea travel in his day, including a story of a "terrible broyle[5]" off Cape St Vincent, which nearly occurred from mistaking a friendly fleet for pirates in the

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[1] See *Appendix* B. [2] See *Appendix* C. [3] See *ante*, p. xv.

[4] Charles Vivian, at the time of his voyage to Constantinople, was apprenticed to Sir Morris Abbot, "Cittizen and Draper of London." He obtained "his freedome" in July, 1622, and was admitted a member of the Levant Company. (*State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 148, p. 74 b.) Roger Vivian was Sir Thomas Abdy's companion in his travels in France in 1633. He died in 1653.

[5] See p. 16.

darkness. He also remarks on the hospitality that English merchants settled abroad always extended to their fellow-countrymen at that time.

Of the various observations he records may be noted those on the cleanliness and decorative beauty of Leghorn, where he gained his first experience of quarantine. Off Stromboli he saw a volcano in active eruption—also a first experience. At Zante he noticed the cultivation of "currence" to the exclusion of corn. He gives an unpleasing description of Scanderoon (Iskanderūn or Alexandretta), with its "boggs, foggs and froggs[1]." It was then the port of Aleppo, and there he tasted roast porcupine and wild boar and found them "Savourie meate[2]." He made the usual guess of his day at the site of Troy on passing that neighbourhood, and finally he reached "the famous Port and Imperiall Cittie of Constantinople[3]," where he at once became engrossed in business.

During the time that he spent in the Turkish capital he must have heard and seen much of interest. Unfortunately he kept no record of this period of his life, and his account, which was written *circ.* 1634, and revised in 1650 and 1654, consists only of "passages recollected by Memory[4]." Among these "passages" are the revolutions that occurred during his stay and the turmoil occasioned by them. He arrived a short time before the death of Ahmad I. and witnessed the accession of the hapless Mustafa, who was taken from a prison to a throne. Three months later, in February, 1618, he heard of the revolt in favour of Osmān and of the imprisonment of Mustafa for the second time. His summary of these events, "Three grand Signiors in three monethes[5]," is brief and to the point. Mundy also remarks on three events which occurred during his sojourn in Constantinople and terrified him, namely, a slight earthquake, an extensive fire causing heavy loss of life, and a visitation of the plague when the

[1] See p. 19. [2] See p. 20. [3] See p. 21.
[4] See p. 3. [5] See p. 21, *n.* 5.

mortality was said to have risen to a thousand a day. The contemplation of these horrors causes him to close *Relation* I. with the ejaculation, "From which evills and all others, good Lord deliver us, Amen[1]."

Mundy gives practically no description of the life of his day in Constantinople, but it does not seem to have pressed heavily on the Europeans, for he tells us that "the English Merchants pass very Commodiouseley with pleasure, love and Amitye among themselves[2]." This last remark seems to show that James Wyche and his immediate friends did not personally suffer from the many obstacles to English trade, of which the ambassador, afterwards the well-known Sir Paul Pindar, was sending home so many and bitter complaints while Mundy was living in Constantinople.

Among recreations, Mundy mentions that he joined a party of his countrymen in an excursion to Pompey's Pillar, on the eastern shore of the Black Sea.

Mundy is curiously careful to give, at the end of each *Relation*, "computations" of the miles he travelled during his journeys, and he reckons the total distance traversed from the time he set out for Rouen till his arrival at Constantinople, including his visit to Pompey's Pillar, as 17,394. He was obviously proud of these tables of distances and with reason, considering that his only means of transit were sailing vessels, horses or wheeled vehicles drawn by animals.

In 1618, James Wyche succumbed to small-pox, which was epidemic in that year at Constantinople. After his master's death, Mundy "remained with Mr. Lawrence Greene," Junior, a merchant, who, we may reasonably infer from this fact, had been in some way connected with James Wyche. This Lawrence Greene subsequently became the Levant Company's Consul at Smyrna, and was one of the many merchants then residing at Pera, a suburb of Constantinople. From this new association, Mundy doubtless

[1] See p. 39 f. [2] See p. 22.

gained further insight into mercantile affairs. He "remained" with Lawrence Greene for nearly two years, but whether he was acting in the interests of the Wyche family or as clerk to Greene, or in both capacities, it is difficult to determine.

Mundy's account of Constantinople is very meagre. With his usual strict adherence to truth, he owns that the memory of his early years is somewhat indistinct, and he therefore contents himself with referring his readers to "the relation of others[1]" and only comments on those things of which he took "particuler notice." Between 1610 and the time when Mundy revised his MS. in 1650, many travellers had visited Constantinople and had recorded their impressions in print. With some of these works Mundy had made himself familiar, and they probably served to refresh his memory as to the scenes in which he had passed his early manhood.

Of the objects which had remained imprinted on his memory, the "haven[2]" at Constantinople holds the chief place. As is natural in one bred up in sight of Falmouth Harbour, it draws forth more commendation than do all the great buildings of Constantinople. The saving of labour in the lading and unlading of vessels and the extent and safety of the sheltered basin also appealed to one trained from boyhood to estimate the possibilities of trade in English commodities with European ports. Mundy's other remarks on the chief points of interest in the city where he spent nearly four years are, as he says himself, but "course and Coursary[3]."

On the arrival of Sir John Eyre to succeed Paul Pindar as the Levant Company's representative at Constantinople, Mundy obtained permission to return to England in the train of the retiring ambassador. He was present at the ceremonial reception of Sir John Eyre by the Grand Signior, at which time Pindar bade his official farewell to the Turkish monarch.

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[1] See p. 30. [2] See p. 37 f. [3] See p. 25.

In his *Relation* II. Mundy gives an account of his journey overland from Constantinople to London. In this story, he chronicles, in the form of a diary, the events of each day and the various stages of the route from the 6th May until the 18th September, 1620[1].

Pindar's reason for travelling across Europe instead of returning to England by sea is not known. It is possible that he had instructions from the Levant Company to enquire into the state of their trade in the inland cities with a view to creating additional mercantile centres, as he visited all the important places with which the Company had established relations.

The ex-ambassador's cavalcade was such as befitted his position. He left his house at Pera, accompanied by his nephew, several members of the Levant Company, an interpreter and seventeen servants of various nationalities. The ambassador and the merchants rode, and twelve waggons carried the baggage and the servants. A guard of twenty-one Janissaries was told off by the Grand Signior as a protection during the first stages of the journey. Six Frenchmen, who had accompanied Monsieur de Césy, Louis XIII.'s ambassador, to Constantinople, joined Pindar's party with thirty-one carts for "themselves and their Lumberment[2]." The cavalcade thus consisted of fifty-six persons, and it was further augmented at the outset by the resident merchants of Galata, twelve in number[3], who escorted Pindar from his house at Pera to

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[1] He probably kept a rough record of events and put it into shape on the return voyage from India in 1634, when he wrote the account of his early travels comprised in *Relation* I.

[2] See p. 44.

[3] Since the text of *Relation* II. was printed, information has come to light regarding Messrs Hunt, Guilliams and Lowe. (See note 2 on p. 44, and notes 2 and 3 on p. 45.) In 1623, Henry Hunt, "late apprentice of Mr Roger Harvey, having been employed in the Company's privileges for three years beyond the seas and upwards," was admitted to the freedom of the Levant Company. In February, 1624, Abell Guilliams, "Apprentice to John Williams haveing served three yeares and upwards in the priveledges and payed the usual fyne of xx*s*." was admitted to the freedom of the Company. On the 6th July, 1626,

the "Fresh Waters," two miles distant. Here, five of the merchants took their leave, the other seven remaining two days with the party and turning back to Pera on the morning of the 8th May.

The first halt was on the 6th May, 1620, at Kūchuk Chekméjé, the Little Bridge, seven miles from the walls of Constantinople, where Mundy spent the night in a *khān* or posting-inn, a place which must have struck him as being widely different from an English hostelry. From this point, as far as Belgrade, the route followed was for the most part that now used by the Orient Express, as will be seen from the table given below.

Constantinople to Belgrade.

Mundy's halting-places in 1620.	Stations of the Orient Express in 1907.
Constantinople.	Constantinople.
The Fresh Rivers.	
Kūchuk Chekméjé.	Kūchuk Chekméjé.
Bìyuk Chekméjé.	
Kumburgas.	
Silivri.	
Chorlu[1].	Karistran[1].
Karistran.	Chorlu.
Lule-Burgas.	Lule-Burgas.
Baba-eski.	Baba-eski.
Khafsa.	
Adrianople.	Adrianople.
Mustafa Pasha.	Mustafa Pasha.
Hermanli.	Hermanli.
Uzunjova.	Uzunjova.
Kialik.	
Papasli.	Papasli.

Francis Lowe, "son of Sir Thomas Lowe deceased," demanded his freedom and was admitted by patrimony on paying the usual fine and taking the oath. *State Papers, Foreign Archives, Levant Company*, pp. 79 b, 109 a, 148 a.

[1] Mundy apparently put these two places in the wrong order.

Philippopolis.	Philippopolis.
Tatar Bazarjik.	Tatar Bazarjik.
Novi Khan.	
Kapuli.	Kapujik.
Ikhtiman.	Ikhtiman.
Sophia.	Sophia.
Zaribrod.	Zaribrod.
Pirot (Sharkoi).	Pirot.
Qūrut chesme.	
Bela Palanka.	Bela Palanka.
Nisch.	Nisch.
Rashan.	
Paratjin.	Paratjin.
Yagodin.	Yagodin.
Batotschina.	Batotschina.
Palanka.	Palanka.
Kolar.	
Grotzka.	
Belgrade.	Belgrade.
Time occupied by Mundy on the journey — 25 days.	Time occupied by the Orient Express on the journey —24 hours.

The route, shown above and on the map facing p. 41, was the old post road, which was still the chief means of communication from Constantinople to Belgrade up to the middle of the nineteenth century. A German Route map of 1819[1] marks all the halting-places given in Mundy's list with the exception of three small villages. The mileage between each place was estimated by Mundy according to his "whole dayes and halfe dayes Journeys[2]" and is by no means exact, though the distances correspond roughly with those on the German map. The

[1] *Nouvelle Carte des Postes de l'Allemagne ou des pays situés au centre de l'Europe divisée dans ses Etats d'après le Congrès de Vienne et les derniers Traités de Paris*, &c., &c. Par A. P. H. Nordmann, Vienne, 1821.

[2] See p. 136.

present editor, who travelled from Constantinople to Belgrade in December of 1906, was able to trace the old post road, either as a road or a track, alongside the railway for miles.

From Kūchuk Chekméjé, the cavalcade kept along the sea-shore for five miles to Bìyuk Chekméjé, the Great Bridge. In both of these towns Mundy remarked the bridges spanning the creeks, erected during the reign of Sulaimān the Magnificent. At Bìyuk Chekméjé the party encamped for the night in the open, Pindar having first set a guard and arranged for its relief every two hours. Still skirting the coast for fifteen miles farther, the next halt was at Silivri, the ancient Selymbria, where again a camp was pitched in the open. The road now turns northward, and, abandoning the coast, passes through a ravine, and Mundy very aptly describes this portion of the route as "a plaine Champion Countrie without either Tree or bush exceptinge att Townes or Villages[1]." At Chorlu, on the 9th May, two members of the train and an Armenian servant, who had left at Kūchuk Chekméjé, rejoined the party. The following day a distance of thirty miles, among open plateaus, was traversed as far as Lule-Burgas, where a welcome supply of fresh water was found. Between Baba-eski, some sixteen miles from Burgas, and Adrianople, there is a long stretch of country, over which the baggage waggons could travel without any hindrance.

In six days Pindar and his party reached Adrianople, a journey that nowadays occupies but eight hours. Here the usual open-air encampment was impracticable owing to a heavy thunderstorm, and the party sought shelter in "a better harbour, which was profered us, beinge a great howse to lodge the Gran Signiors trayne and horses, when he cometh thither[2]." Mundy has a short description of the Grand Signior's Seraglio at Adrianople, the first building of importance that he had seen since he left the Turkish capital. At Adrianople "Stamo the Greeke" quitted the

[1] See p. 60 [2] See p. 49.

Englishmen in order to enter the service of Caspar Gratiani, Voïvode of Moldavia, at one time Pindar's dragoman.

The travellers now proceeded towards Philippopolis, a distance of ninety-five miles. The road lies between the spurs of the Rhodope and Balkan mountains, and offers a strong contrast to the flat marshy land encountered at the commencement of the journey. Mundy remarks that "from Adrianople hither (Philippopolis), although the like plaine ground, yett over growne with woods and Bushes of Oake for the most part[1]."

A halt was made at Mustafa Pasha, of which place Mundy tells a story relating to the bridge over the Maritza. Thence the party proceeded to Hermanli, thirty-six miles from Adrianople, where they pitched near a large *khān*. Like the emissary of Louis XIII., Des Hayes, who travelled over the same ground in the following year, Pindar avoided sleeping in a Turkish inn whenever practicable. Keeping near the left bank of the Maritza, the party reached Uzunjova in the valley of the Usundji. Thence they made their way to Kialik, "a poore Towne of Christians" where there were only "poore howses[2]," in one of which Pindar was compelled to lodge.

Mundy makes no particular comments on his halting-places between Constantinople and Kialik, the first "Christian village." He only remarks generally that all the "Townes" were "somewhat hansome with their Churches, Canes and Bathes fairely built[3]." He is, however, careful to note the "fresh rivers" and "stone bridges," such as that at Khafsa, near which the party encamped on the 11th May[3].

Between Kialik and Papasli, "another poore Towne of Christians[2]," the road runs north-west, closer to the mountains, leaving the Maritza gradually to the south. Pindar only stayed to dine at Papasli and proceeded on the same day, the 17th May, fifteen miles farther, to Philippopolis or

[1] See p. 60. [2] See p. 54. [3] See p. 49.

Filibe. Finding that the plague was raging in the city, the ambassador caused his followers to cross the long wooden bridge over the Maritza and to encamp on the opposite side of the river, at the same time issuing strict orders forbidding any member of his train to enter the infected district. In close proximity to the travellers' camp were the gruesome remains of two highwaymen who had been staked alive a week previously. Of Philippopolis, Mundy has not much to say beyond a remark as to its founder and its position "in a greate plaine with high hills on either side, hard by a River, over which was a tymber bridge[1]."

From Philippopolis to Sophia the road traverses the woods and valleys stretching up the slopes of the Rhodope mountains, a more picturesque, but at the same time more perilous part of the journey than that hitherto passed. Having dined at Tatar Bazarjik, sixteen miles beyond Philippopolis, the party proceeded a few miles further to Novi Khan, "a Christian village[2]," where they remained for the night. On the 19th May they came to the Pass of Kaprulov Derbend. By Pindar's orders, each of his followers went through on foot, fully armed, in order to be ready to resist the attacks of robbers, but, says Mundy, "God bee praised, there was none[3]."

Passing two villages of "poore Christians[3]" there were more perils to encounter. At one point was a place so infested with robbers that there "wee mett a man beatinge on a drumme, sett there of purpose to advise travellers whether there bee theeves or noe, hee abideinge in the most daungerous place of all[3]." At last the "woodie mountaines" were left behind and a valley of "inhabited places" was perceived. Ikhtiman, "where are ten other Townes in sight[4]," was the halting-place on the night of the 19th May. Between Ikhtiman and Sophia was another lurking place of robbers, and here again a drummer was posted to give the alarm to travellers. On nearing Sophia, the extensive view of the enclosed plateau in which the city lies greatly

[1] See p. 55. [2] See p. 60. [3] See p. 61. [4] See p. 61 f.

impressed Mundy, as he came upon it after several days of wandering among devious mountain paths. But the traveller should not be misled by this description, as, after it is entered, the plateau is in reality distinctly dreary. Mundy calls the table-land a "plaine" and notes "about twenty Townes and villages in the said plaine all in sight togeather[1]." The cavalcade halted for a whole day at Sophia. During this time, Pindar paid a ceremonial visit to the Viceroy of Rumelia, who was on his way to the shores of the Black Sea to repress a Cossack raid.

On the 22nd May, two miles beyond Sophia, the party was augmented by two soldiers, sent by the Viceroy as a special guard for Pindar, and by a *chawush* (important official) with an escort of Janissaries in charge of treasure for Buda. Mundy does not mention when the first guard of Janissaries, who escorted the ambassador from Constantinople, left the party, but it is hardly probable that they proceeded farther than Adrianople.

A halt was made for dinner in the plain of the Isker. Thence, to Zaribrod, the travellers had an unpleasant experience, "entringe among Rockie Hills, wee were overtaken with rayne, where wee had not only a dangerous passage by reason of Theeves, but very troublesome and wearisome by reason of the rocky stony way and durtie weather[2]." When at last Zaribrod was reached, "Lodginge" was found to be "very scarse," and Pindar himself had to put up with cottage accommodation. The next day matters were little better, and the horses so weary "by reason of the dirtie way" that a halt was made at midday at Pirot, where the jaded animals rested until the next morning. The Janissaries and the *chawush*, however, pushed on, "their busines requiring more hast[3]." Their place as protectors was taken by fourteen cavalry soldiers (*sipāhī*) furnished to Pindar in accordance with an order from the Grand Signior. The ambassador had also full licence to impound provisions in the various stopping places on his

[1] See p. 63. [2] See p. 66.

way to Belgrade. Of this latter privilege he did not avail himself, as he would be "wronging the poore Christians thereby[1]."

Passing along the valley of the Morava, the travellers came upon a deserted Christian village and made their way to Bela Palanka, where they found a stockade, in which Turkish soldiers were intrenched to repel any incursion of marauding Christians[2]. An additional body-guard of thirty-one soldiers from this fortification accompanied Pindar half way through the rugged steeps and defiles to Nisch, the district being especially notorious for robbers. When the most dangerous part of the route was accomplished in safety, the escort was dismissed with a reward and a certificate of efficiency. The remainder of the road to Nisch is described as "although not soe dangerous and mountainous, yett altogeather soe stonie and dirtie[3]." At Nisch Mundy noted the bridge over the Nissava, "a Castle none of the best" and some ruined walls[3].

On the 26th May, a few miles on the road towards Belgrade, Pindar's party overtook the *chawush* and Janissaries who had left them at Pirot[4]. Travelling was now easier, "the way beinge faire and plaine, although desert (*i.e.*, deserted) and full of woods[5]." At Rashan their lodging was for once in a *khān*.

The next day the travellers passed through the small village of Paratjin and came to the banks of the Morava, where the lack of a bridge caused a loss of "four howres at least in passinge our selves and necessaries[5]." The halting-place that night was Yagodin, where there was another of the *palanghas* or fortified stockades. Winding next day along the mountain slopes, the party halted at Batotschina for dinner, probably about midday, reaching later on Hassan Pasha's Palanka, "the fairest wee sawe hetherto." Again they spent the night in "a large Cane[6]."

On the 29th May, the cavalcade passed through Kolar,

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[1] See p. 67. [2] See p. 68. [3] See p. 69.
[4] See p. 66. [5] See p. 70. [6] See p. 71.

amid the dense forests bordering the Danube. Grotzka, situated on this "the most famous river in Europe," was the next halting-place. Both at Kolar and at Grotzka, Mundy noted *palanghas*, and at the latter place "two great stone Canes" also. Pindar, however, avoided the *khāns* and "pitched neere the Towne[1]," where, as at Philippopolis, his camp was in the neighbourhood of the remains of a man staked for robbery.

On the 30th May, the twenty-fifth day after the departure from Constantinople, the ex-ambassador and his followers arrived at Belgrade. "Heere my Lord hired a howse being determined to stay some few daies[2]." As a matter of fact, Pindar spent eight days in Belgrade, and Mundy had an ample opportunity of exercising his powers of observation. He was greatly struck by the "thirty-five floating milles" on the river near the city, "makeinge as faire a shewe afarr of[f] as they were handsome within[3]." It is interesting to note that now, nearly three hundred years after this account was written, there are still water-mills of the same kind at Belgrade. The abundance, variety, and cheapness of the fish to be obtained from the Danube also attracted Mundy's attention. In the city itself he remarked that the buildings, "Churches, Besistenes, bathes and Canes excepted," were "generally made of Boards," but that "howsoever, those wooden buildings make a faire shewe, beinge very handsomely contrived[3]." The castle and fortifications are described at some length, with special reference to the "Clocke which is heard over all the Cittie[4]." Other objects in Belgrade which appealed to Mundy were the "Ferrie boats of one peece," the "greate boates for carrieing too and froe Corne, wood, salt etts.," the "Artillery howse[5]" with its trophies from the siege of Kaniza, and the rivers Danube and Save with their unequal currents. He was also interested in the various nationalities dwelling in the city.

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[1] See p. 71. [2] See p. 72. [3] See p. 73 f.
[4] See p. 74. [5] See p. 75.

At Belgrade Pindar discharged the baggage waggons in view of the "mountainous waie[1]" to be traversed before reaching Spalato. He paid a state visit to the *kāzī* during his stay, which was apparently prolonged by the difficulty of procuring horses "for our farther proceede, there being none in Towne, only those newely arrived from other parts[2]." At Belgrade the travellers lost the services of Thaddeus Murād, the Armenian engaged "to dresse victualls[3]." This man, who was the servant of Mr Wilson, was permitted to return to Constantinople, taking with him a Bulgarian woman whom he had secured as a bride for his brother.

On the 7th June, Pindar and his party left Belgrade and entered on a more toilsome stage of their journey. The heat was intense for the first three days, and the cavalcade only covered thirty miles. A compulsory halt was made at noon, and at night the camp was pitched "in the feilds." On the 9th June, Valjevo was reached. Pindar's tent was set up beside the Kolubara river and the party refreshed themselves with "Cherries at a farthinge a pound." At night the ordinary watch was augmented by a guard of twenty men sent by the *kāzī* for protection, "the place being somewhat dangerous for Theeves[4]." On entering Valjevo, Mundy noted the remains of two of these gentry who had been staked as a warning to their fellows.

On the 10th June, travelling was more pleasant both as regards way and weather, the day "not very hott of it selfe" and "our waie beinge through shadie woods...ascendinge and descendinge pleasant mountains[5]." The travellers now entered the mountain system of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They seem to have followed the valley of the Jablanitza, crossed the Medvednjik Planina or mountain pasture and descended into the valley of the Ljubowija. Mundy was much impressed with the truly Alpine scenery, the "mountains which exceeded all others that ever I sawe for height and beautie, not steepie, but gentlie riseinge by

[1] See p. 72. [2] See p. 75. [3] See p. 76. [4] See p. 78. [5] See p. 78 f.

degrees, the Topps being as good ground as the bottome and as firtill[1]." He marvelled that "this pleasant peece of Countrey" should be allowed to lie "in a manner waste, and growen with weeds and woods of exceeding high trees[1]." The descent to the valley of the Ljubowija was steep and the "quantitie of good ripe Strawburryes[1]" found near the river must have been welcome.

On the 11th June, the party was ferried over the river Drina, and, six miles farther, they halted, apparently near the Jadar river, where they "dined and past the heat of the day[2]." Here Mundy noted the site of the ancient silver mines of Srebreniza, and a *khān* in the neighbourhood, by which the camp was pitched.

On the 12th June, the toilsome ascent of the Romanja Planina was accomplished. It was found to be "much higher than wee expected[2]." At the foot of the mountain the travellers probably looked for civilization, but their road lay for "twelve miles farther through a plaine where were only six or seven villages and many scatteringe dwellings, all made of wood, where was neither bread nor wyne, nor any thinge els to bee had butt att very dear rates[2]."

On the 13th June, after a fifteen miles journey, "for eight miles the way reasonable plaine, but from thence... very mountainous and rocky[4]," Sarajevo was reached. Since the 7th June the party had only traversed 93½ miles, or about thirteen miles per day, as against the average of twenty-one miles per day between Constantinople and Belgrade. The bad roads, mountainous country and great heat all contributed to delay their progress.

Two clear days were spent in Sarajevo in order to procure fresh horses for the remaining distance to Spalato. The cost of hire from Belgrade to Sarajevo was about 12*s.* 6*d.*, and thence to Spalato about 10*s.* 6*d.* per horse. A long halt at Sarajevo was undesirable, as, owing to the piratical acts of the Uscocs, who were believed to have been encouraged by the Venetians, all Europeans were in

[1] See p. 79. [2] See p. 80. [3] See p. 80 f. [4] See p. 81.

ill-odour in the city, and the people "very bigg and tall... very discourteous to Francks[1]." Pindar, therefore, "haveing taken a howse," in order to avoid altercations, "forbadd anie to stirr out of doores[1]." In spite of this prohibition, Mundy seems to have seen the chief objects of interest in the Bosnian capital. He tells us that it "lyeth among the Hills," and that "the howses heere in generall have theire walls of Clay[1]." He notes the castle built by Cotroman, the large number of mosques and the equally large number of water-mills on the Miljacka, "lyeinge one lower then another, each haveinge but one little wheele, which the water turneth[2]."

On the 16th June, the party set out for the last and most difficult part of their journey, namely over the mountains to Spalato. As far as Lisicici they took the route now followed by the Sarajevo-Mostar railway. Their first stage was Pazaric[2]. Thence, to the village of Ivan on the ridge of the Ivan Planina, the way was "mountainous and rocky[2]." On the 17th June, they came to Konjica, "a goode Towne" on the Narenta, "a prettie river...cleire, greenish and verye swift[3]." Following the river for seven miles, they reached Lisicici, where they dined.

From this point the travellers went by local roads, and it is difficult to follow them, especially as Mundy's account of this part of the journey is somewhat confused. It is clear that, after leaving Lisicici, the party followed the Narenta as far as its junction with the Rama. Then they left the Narenta and kept beside the Rama for some few miles when they crossed it "by a bridge[3]." After this, the route is very indistinct. The party ascended "an exceedinge high Mountaine and steepy[3]" and found themselves on an elevated plateau with another mountain facing them, "altogether soe high but much more steepy[3]." On the 18th June, they were confronted by a third "high mountaine which had little descent to bee perceived[4]." This proved to be the last of the fearsome heights to

[1] See p. 81. [2] See p. 82. [3] See p. 83. [4] See p. 84.

be surmounted before the travellers reached the plateau of Borovaglava on the Prologh mountains. Here their eyes were gladdened by the sight of civilization, for, in the plateau, though "environed with stonie barren hills," there "were store of villages and other dwellings" with clearings "to prevent Theeves that usually lurked amonge (the Forrests of Pine trees)[1]." Crossing the plateau in a southerly direction, the party encamped for the night near a spring.

On the 19th June, the dining place was by "a great Lake[1]" which is not named by Mundy, and may be either the Semaroromo Blato or the Rusko Blato. From either of these the way is "stony and rockey" as far as the river Cettina. When the Cettina, the "river of a marvelous slowe motion[2]," was reached, the travellers' troubles were practically over. They spent the night in a *khān* and crossed the river "by boate" on the 20th June, 1620. Their dining-place was beneath the famous castle of Clyssa, "built on a high cragked Rock[2]," whence, a mile farther, the party entered Venetian territory. Once over the boundary, a startling change was apparent. "Wee entred into Christendome, then seeminge to bee in a new World, such was the alteration wee found, not only in the Inhabitants, but also in the Soyle[3]." Mundy grows quite enthusiastic in his description of the three miles of country between the Turkish territory and the gates of Spalato. He remarks that even the stones were turned to a useful purpose and served instead of hedges, and that, in the cornfields "they being then reapinge, were rancks in the Furrowes of Olive trees, Pomgranett Trees, Pines and figg trees[4]." The "watch Towers" erected as places of refuge by the Venetians "on the hills alongst the sea Coast[4]" are also noted.

At Spalato the travellers were immediately placed in quarantine, but were treated with great consideration, special rooms being allotted to Pindar and his company

[1] See p. 84. [2] See p. 85. [3] See p. 85 f. [4] See p. 87.

and "beddinge, lynnen, Tables, Chaires and necessaries" being sent in to him, also "fresh Victualls soe that wee wanted nothing but libertie[1]." As soon as he was established in the Lazaretto, Pindar received a visit from the Venetian governor of Spalato, "th' one sittinge without the gate, and thother within, a good way a sunder[1]." Two days later the Governor paid another visit, when Pindar obtained the release of John Clarke, one of his servants. After being disinfected, Clarke "was licensed[1]" and proceeded to Venice to prepare for the reception of his master. Instead of the usual "forty, thirty, twenty, fifteen" days' detention in quarantine, Pindar and his followers had "Prattick" on the tenth day, "but herein his Lordshipp was greatly favoured[2]."

While Mr Lane was making arrangements for transporting the party to Venice, Pindar, "with the Gentlemen[3]," dined at the Governor's house. Meanwhile, Mundy had a cursory glance at the town of Spalato, which he found "strongly built, furnished with many soldiers and many brave, stout edifices, although auntient[3]."

On the night of the 29th June, being furnished with their certificate of health, the party set out in a "barke of Tenn Tonnes," together with the "Frenchmen," who had "hired another for themselves[3]." Skirting the Dalmatian coast, the boats passed the garrison town of Zara, where Sir Henry Peyton's detachment of soldiers, sent for the assistance of the Venetian Republic, was then stationed. The wind was favourable, and the ships made good progress, "alwaies among small Islands, verie stoney and barren as the Mayne seemed to bee[3]." On the 1st July they passed through the narrow Canal d'Ossero, between Cherso and Lussin. Sailing across the Gulf of Quarnero to the Punta di Promontore on the 2nd July, the vessels steered through the Canale di Fasana between the island of Brioni and "the Mayne," where Mundy noted the "prettie harbour[4]" of Pola, then an insignificant town. Owing to the presence of

[1] See p. 87. [2] See p. 87 f. [3] See p. 88. [4] See p. 89.

a galleass off Pola, it was thought that "provision would bee scarse," and Pindar's party went on to Rovigno. Here the "Captaine of the place invited his Lordshipp and Gentlemen home to his howse[1]."

On the evening of the following day, the 3rd July, 1620, "the wynde coming faire[1]" the party again set sail, and, crossing the Gulf of Venice entered the 'Queen of the Adriatic' through the channel of S. Andrea del Lido, having spent four days at sea. The short voyage was probably a welcome change after the toilsome journey from Sarajevo and the ten days' confinement at Spalato. At S. Andrea, the boat was stopped by the sanitary officer, who inspected the travellers' health certificate and gave them "leave to goe whether wee would[2]." The boat proceeded to "the verie faire howse[3]" on the Cannaregio, which John Clarke had taken for the ex-ambassador during his stay in Venice. The house belonged to a Venetian nobleman and was rented at £20 per month, while the furniture, plate, etc., were hired of Jews at the rate of £10 per month. Mundy was much impressed with the interior decorations of this house, which was "as curious within as it was faire without[3]."

Pindar remained a month in Venice, during which he paid and received ceremonial visits from the ambassadors of Spain and Savoy, and also had constant intercourse with Sir Henry Peyton and his officers[4]. While he was thus employed, his followers were free to explore the city. Of all the sights of Venice, Mundy considered the arsenal "the most worthy notice[5]." The extent of the place and the variety and completeness of the work carried on within its precincts aroused his wonder and admiration[6]. He was shown the famous Bucentaur and heard an account of the ceremony in which she took part each Ascensiontide[7]. Other objects of interest in Venice, such as St Mark's, the

[1] See p. 89. The Capitano of Istria is still the chief official of the Peninsula, having his Head Quarters at Parenzo, north of Rovigno.

[2] See p. 90. [3] See p. 91. [4] See p. 92 f.

[5] See p. 97. [6] See pp. 93, 94, 96. [7] See p. 95.

Campanile, the canals, the Rialto, etc. are only lightly touched on, but the gondolas receive more attention[1]. On the whole, Mundy opined that, in Venice are "wayes to gett, but many more to spend[2]."

On the 4th August, 1620, Pindar and his train set out for Turin, travelling by boat up the Brenta to Padua, "which boates, after our comeinge into the River, are drawne with horses[3]." On the way Mundy noted the "pleasant Country howses of the Nobillitie and gentlemen of Venice." At Padua the party lodged for three nights at The Golden Star. While there, Pindar exchanged visits with the young Lord Maltravers and his brother, who were studying at the University[4]. In the city Mundy remarked the "many voyd places and ruynes[5]." He has no comment on any of the public buildings except the Hall "to heere lawe suites[6]."

From Padua to Verona the party travelled by "Caroches[7]." It was now augmented by three followers, but lost Thomas Humes "the Scottishman[8]," who remained at Padua. Randolph Symes, the Levant Company's agent for the transmission of letters at Venice and the neighbourhood, accompanied Pindar as far as Vicenza and stayed with him at The Three Kings. On the 7th August, the travellers dined at Villa Nuova and reached The Cavaletta at Verona on the same day. The "Amphitheater" in this "famous and auntient[9]" city claimed Mundy's attention. In 1655, while on his third voyage to India on the *Alleppo Merchant*, he added to his earlier description a further account from the *Travels* of George Sandys[10].

The cavalcade was now following the post road to Milan. On the 8th August, the travellers passed through Cavalcaselle and went thence to Peschiera, "a stronge Castle" at the end of "Lago de Garda...wherein are vessells both for fishinge and transportation[11]." The resting place that night was at The Venetian Arms in Lonato.

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[1] See p. 97 f. [2] See p. 98. [3] See p. 100.
[4] See p. 99. [5] See p. 43. [6] See p. 101.
[7] See p. 102 f. [8] See p. 104.

On the 9th August, Brescia was reached and the party dined at "the signe of the Tower, a very faire Hosteria or Inne[1]." Here Mundy noted the fortifications and the "good Castle which is noe more then needs, it standing soe neare the Spanish Dominions[1]." At Brescia, too, he first observed sufferers from goître, a malady to which he makes frequent allusions. Late in the evening of the 9th August, the travellers arrived at The Spread Eagle at Orzi Vecchi. Passing Orzi Nuovi, "a very strong walled and well kept Town[2]," the road led to the river Oglio, which was crossed by boat. Since leaving Venice the party had had "extra-ordinary pleasaunt travellinge[2]" through cultivated country. The vineyards and the method of training the vines especially excited Mundy's admiration. From Soncino, "a walled Towne," then under the Duchy of Milan, Pindar and his train passed on to Crema, also a "walled Towne[2]," but in Venetian territory. Four miles beyond Crema, the boundary proper of the Duchy of Milan was reached, and thence the party pushed on to Lodi, where the wooden bridge over the Adda was broken, "soe past it over by boate, and dyned at the Catt and the bell." The night was spent at The Eagle and Horn at Malegnano. On the evening of the following day, the 11th August, 1620, "wee came to the greate Cittie of Millan and dyned att the Three Kings[3]." On his way out of Milan, Pindar met the Duke of Feria, the Governor, and went "back to our lodging with him, where hee stayed a quarter of an hower and departed[3]." In the evening Pindar returned the visit. While this interchange of civilities was taking place, Mundy seized the opportunity to visit the Cathedral, where he saw the tomb of the celebrated Cardinal Boromeo, "with lights continually burninge." In the morning, on the way out of the city, Mundy noted the castle of Milan, "accounted one of the strongest in Christendome[4]."

The Naviglio-Grande Canal, on which Mundy remarked the "great flatt bottomed Boates[5]," laden with country

[1] See p. 104. [2] See p. 105. [3] See p. 106.
[4] See p. 107. [5] See p. 108.

produce for Milan, was crossed by a bridge. Two miles farther, the party came to the Ticino, "verye great and swifte[1]," over which boats conveyed them to the other side, where there was no further hindrance to their progress, and nearly forty miles were covered in the day. Between Novara and Vercelli the boundary of the Duchy of Milan was passed, and the travellers entered the territory of the Duke of Savoy. At Vercelli were many evidences of the siege of 1617, "a great number of dwellings, etts. buildings, battered downe and levelled with the ground[1]." Here the night was spent at The Cardinal's Hat. On the 13th August they dined at The Angel at Sian, and reached The Golden Lion at Chivasso the same evening.

The next day the party arrived at Turin, "the principall seate of the Duke of Savoy[2]," where Pindar, as an ex-ambassador, had a grand reception both from Sir Isaac Wake, the English ambassador, and from representatives of the Duke of Savoy; "himselfe was now absent[2]." He was lodged in "a very faire howse of the Dukes ready furnished[2]" and had a suite of servants appointed to attend him; "Also the provisions att the Dukes charge[2]." During his two days' stay in Turin, Pindar paid formal visits to the various members of the family of the Duke of Savoy. He also went to see "the Dukes great Gallerye[4]" with its "Curious statues and Pictures, with 48 presses of bookes and great store of Armour[4]."

For the next portion of the journey fresh horses were hired to go as far as Lyons, at about £4 each, and on the afternoon of the 16th August, 1620, the party was escorted out of the city with great pomp, the two ambassadors riding "both in one Coach[4]" as far as the "Three flowre de Luces" at Avigliana, where Sir Isaac Wake remained until the following morning. The travellers then proceeded to The Three Pigeons at Bussolena and prepared to "enter the Alpes[5]." From Bussolena they went on to Novalese, where they put up for the night. On the 18th August,

[1] See p. 108. [2] See p. 109. [3] See p. 110.
[4] See p. 111. [5] See p. 112.

they began the ascent of Mt. Cenis "which wee found to be steepie and Rockey[1]." Having passed the boundary between Savoy and Piedmont, they continued the ascent to the "faire, cleire Lake" on the top[1], near which was the building erected for the reception of Princess Christine, when, a year previously, she had journeyed from France to Savoy as the affianced bride of Victor-Amadeus, the Duke's eldest son. At this "howse" the Duke himself was in waiting for Pindar's party, and "his Lordshipp went to visitt and thanck his highnes for the great honour and loveinge entertainement which hee had received att Turin[1]." Now began the "discent of the mountaine[1]," which was "wonderfull Steepie, soe that every man allighted, my Lord beinge carried downe in a chaire betweene Two men[2]." At Lanslebourg the travellers dined at The Three Kings. On the Piedmont side of the mountain Mundy found the patois "hard for us to understand[3]."

From Lanslebourg, the road lay along the valley of the Arc, "there beinge all the way great falls of Water[4]," thence to St Michel and St Jean de Maurienne, "a Stronge walled Towne[4]" and the only one (except Chambery) "among the Alpes" commended by Mundy. All the rest "were very poorely built and as poorely inhabited[5]," the people, too, were, many of them, sufferers from goître, some of them having "greate Wenns under their Chinns...as bigg as a mans head[5]." At Aiguebelle, on the 29th August, the party split up, Pindar and his immediate entourage going on to Montmelian, while the "Servants and stuffe remained heere[6]." On the arrival of the baggage at Chambery, the servants heard that their master had "passed forward" to Aiguebelette. At Chambery, Mundy and his companions enjoyed the comforts provided at The Golden Apple, "a Compleat howse and very good entertainement[5]." The town, "the laste...within the Alpes," is described as "the fairest" with "handsome comely buildings tiled with slates[5]."

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[1] See p. 113. [2] See p. 113 f. [3] See p. 114.
[4] See p. 115. [5] See p. 117. [6] See p. 116.

There yet remained the peak of Aiguebelette, which though "very steepy upp and downe[1]," was crossed on the 22nd August, 1620. At Pont de Beauvoisin, the boundary between France and Savoy, Pindar awaited his servants and baggage. The united party proceeded to Bourgoin and thence to the "Posthowse[1]" at La Verpillière. On the 24th August, they reached Lyons, where Mundy noted the floating-mills on the Rhone and Saône, but found them "much inferior in Beautie and bignes" to "those of Belgrade[2]." He had no time to examine the buildings at Lyons on account of his short stay there, and he only remarks of the city that it was "great and populous...of great Traffique, aboundinge with Merchants and Shopp-keepers[2]."

On the 25th August, the party again divided. This time the "Attendants" went on with fresh horses to Tarare, "my Lord etts. being to come after[3]." Being unimpeded with baggage, the gentlemen had no difficulty in overtaking the servants and pack-horses at Roanne on the following day. Here fresh transport arrangements were made. The horses were dismissed and two boats were hired, at a cost of about £4. 10*s*., to convey the party down the Loire to Orleans. Owing to the shallowness of the river, the boats were "aground twenty or thirty tymes every day[3]," and Orleans was not reached until the eighth day after leaving Roanne. Mundy found "all the Countrey downe the River very pleasant and full of Citties, Townes, villages and buildings, meadowes, gardens, etts.[4]" St Aubin-sur-Loire and La Charité were the halting-places on the 29th and 30th August. At Decize, the party arrived too late to enter the city so "lodged without the walls[5]." Between Decize and La Charité they passed Nevers, "a faire and stronge Cittie with a stone bridge[5]." Mundy was struck by the "great store of protestants and whole Townes of them" on the Loire[6], and he especially remarked the Huguenot stronghold at Sancerre, which he saw in the distance after

[1] See p. 118. [2] See p. 119. [3] See pp. 120 and 122.
[4] See p. 123. [5] See p. 120. [6] See p. 122.

passing La Charité[1]. On the Loire, too, were "att least one hundred and fifty floatinge Mills[2]."

On the 31st August, after passing several villages, the boats reached Gien, "a stronge Towne. Here wee lodged att a Protestants howse[3]." The party arrived at Orleans late on the 1st September, 1620, and, as the journey was continued early on the following morning Mundy had no time to see "perticulers worth notice in this famous place[4]," except the "very faire stone bridge with shopps and buildings on it[5]."

The distance between Orleans and Paris was covered by coach. Soon after they set out, the travellers came upon the bodies of "two men executed, one hanged on a Tree, and the other layd on a wheele[3]." The road led through Artenay and thence to Toury, the route now followed by the railway. Mundy, however, drove along "a Cawsye" through "plaine and levell[3]" country. On the 3rd September, the coaches passed through Angerville, Etampes and Arpajon, the latter part of the way "a little Hillie, though pleasant, fruitefull, and full of Townes[4]." From the "three Black moores" at Arpajon, the cavalcade went direct to Paris, by Longjumeau and Bourg-la-Reine, "all the way wonderfully peopled and Inhabited[4]." Just outside the city were the remains of four poor wretches who had been broken on the wheel.

In Paris, Pindar's party lodged at the Iron Cross in the Rue St Martin. Mundy made good use of the two days he spent in the French capital[5]. With Messrs Davis and Wilson he visited the Louvre, Notre Dame, the unfinished Luxembourg palace, the Exchange, and St Innocents' Church. The bridges over the Seine, especially the Pont Neuf, with its clock and statues of Jean d'Arc and Henri IV., excited his admiration. In the Louvre he noted the most important sculptures and paintings, especially the portrait of Marie de Medici by Pourbus. The "Store-

[1] See p. 121. [2] See p. 122. [3] See p. 123.
[4] See p. 124. [5] See pp. 124—130.

howses full of Deadmens bones[1]" in St Innocents' churchyard astonished him. Of the Bourse he thought but little, but was highly pleased with "the prospect of the whole Cittie[2]" which he beheld from one of the towers of Notre Dame.

On the 6th September, 1620, the travellers again set out, having hired fresh coaches from Paris to Calais. Two of their number were left behind, "Signor Dominico with a feavour and Vincentio to attend him[3]." Passing through St Denis, Pierrefitte, St Brice, Moisselles, and Beaumont, "a faire Towne[4]," the party reached Pisieux in the evening. Next day they dined at Beauvais and slept at Le Hamel, "a poore Towne where wee had as poore entertainement[4]." Thence they went on through Poix to Pont Remy, "a walled Towne, and lay att the Crowne[4]." On the 9th September, they breakfasted at Abbeville, dined at Bernay, "a poore Towne[5]," and, passing through Montreuil and Neufchâtel, reached Boulogne on the 10th September, 1620. Here Mundy's eyes were gladdened by the sight of the English Channel, "haveing seene noe Sea att all since our departure from Venice[5]." At Boulogne the party lodged "att the Grayhound in the lower Towne[5]." Thence they followed the coast, "and in sight of England[6]," to Marquise and Calais. The large settlement outside the walls of this "stronge Towne[6]" attracted Mundy's attention. At the gates the travellers were disarmed and were warned not to approach the walls or bulwarks. Within the fortifications, Mundy noted the church built by the English and a "faire Markett place[6]."

At Calais the coaches were dismissed and a "Catche hired...to carry us to Dover[7]." Preparations were made to cross to England on the 12th September, but "the Wynde overbloweing" the boat "durst not adventure over the Barr[7]." The next day the weather improved and the

[1] See p. 129. [2] See p. 130. [3] See pp. 42, 43 and 130.
[4] See p. 131. [5] See p. 132. [6] See p. 133.
[7] See p. 134.

passage was made in three hours and a half. The "Catche" was anchored off Dover and the passengers were landed in small boats, while "the Stuffe went about into the Haven[1]." That night, the 13th September, 1620, the first that Mundy had spent on English soil since January, 1618, he slept at the "Grayhound." Meanwhile, Pindar was welcomed home by his brother Ralph and his kinsman, Mr Spike. At Dover, Mr Lane, who seems to have been Pindar's purveyor and paymaster, hired "a great Waggon[2]" to convey the baggage to Gravesend, and sent it off in charge of seven servants. The remainder of the party left Dover on the 14th September and reached the Chequer's Inn at Canterbury the same evening. Mundy found the "Cathedrall Church" with its "multitude of windowes of coloured glasse" very "goodly to behold[2]." The city, too, he describes as having "faire streets and Shopps well furnished[2]."

On the 15th September, the party proceeded, *viâ* Sittingbourne and Rochester, to Gravesend, where Pindar, who had been "deteyned and entertained[3]" by the Archbishop of Canterbury, overtook them. Thence, they went up the Thames in two gigs. At Blackwall, five coaches were in readiness to convey the travellers to Pindar's house at Islington, where Mundy slept on the 16th and 17th September. On the 18th, he took leave of the ex-ambassador, "humbly thancking him for divers favours received of him[3]."

Whether Mundy had any intercourse with Pindar during his sojourn at Constantinople, or whether he only obtained permission to travel in Pindar's suite through the influence of Lawrence Greene, is uncertain. It is clear, however, that his relations with the ambassador must have been sufficiently intimate for Pindar to form an estimate of his ability and for Mundy to have cause to regard his patron with affection as well as gratitude. To Pindar was entrusted, fourteen years later, the account of Mundy's

[1] See p. 134. [2] See p. 135. [3] See p. 136.

early voyages, and it was also Sir Paul Pindar who "seriously recommended" him and his affairs to the favour of the East India Company in 1634. Mundy himself tells us nothing of his connection with his patron in the years following the journey from Constantinople. It is, however, likely that, when in London, he paid his respects at Pindar's mansion in Bishopsgate Street Without.

With his usual and justifiable pride in the extent of his journeys, Mundy states, at the end of *Relation* II., that the distance from London to Constantinople amounts "by my Computation[1]" to 1838 miles. His rate of travelling was, therefore, 22½ miles per day, exclusive of the time spent in Belgrade, Spalato, Venice, etc.

Of the seven years following the "Journey Overland from Constantinople to London" Mundy has but a scanty record. He tells us that his Third *Relation* is, like the First, "recollected by memorie[2]." In March, 1621, he revisited his native town and, in the summer of that year, he went to Seville with a cargo of pilchards on behalf of his father, his uncle and Mr Richard Wyche. In 1622, he was back in England, for he tells us that, in April, he "covenanted" to serve Richard Wyche for "five yeares on certaine Conditions[3]," one of which, as we learn later, was that of keeping accounts. His salary, £20 per annum, was exclusive of board and lodging. Mundy is silent as to his employment during the first three years of his contract, and we have no hint as to whether he spent the time in England or abroad. At the beginning of the fourth year of his service, he was sent by a syndicate of copper-contractors (of whom Richard Wyche was one) to Spain, in connection with their business. He and "one Henry Davis[4]" crossed from Dover to "Deepe" and, travelling "post," arrived at Irun a week later. They travelled by short stages, changing horses as many as twenty times a day, "a very painfull imployment to one not accoustomed[4]." From Irun, Mundy and Davis went to St Sebastian and thence to Vittoria. Here, George

[1] See p. 136. [2] See p. 145. [3] See p. 137. [4] See p. 138.

Wyche, one of Richard's younger brothers, was "Prisoner about the Contracte aforesaid[1]." How or why the luckless George was imprisoned does not appear, nor has a search among contemporary records produced any independent mention of this Copper Contract. Mundy went on to Valladolid, where a suit in connection with his employers' business was "dependinge in the Chauncery," but he says nothing with regard to the result of his investigations. From other sources, we learn that George Wyche was still a prisoner three years later. If Mundy's own immediate relatives were interested in these proceedings, the fall in the fortunes of his family, alluded to by him in 1638 and 1655, may have dated from this unfortunate venture.

Mundy has a description of Valladolid, "one of the delightsomest seats in the Kingdome of Spaine[1]" with "the fairest Place or Placa that I have yett seene[2]." He also notes the tomb of the Cardinal Duke of Lerma, who was buried there just before his arrival. During the four months that he remained in Valladolid, Mundy witnessed bull-baiting and other public sports, but, though he is discursive as to places and things of interest in Spain, he is curiously reticent about the business which had brought him into the country. After nearly half a year's absence, he returned to England.

Between Vittoria and St Sebastian, Mundy crossed the Puerto de St Adrian, and he describes minutely the Saint's grotto, which he saw "by the light of Candells[3]," but he does not tell us if he made any stay in Vittoria or paid any further visit to the imprisoned George Wyche. At St Sebastian, Mundy took his passage for England in the *Margett*, commanded by Captain Molton. On his return he found his master "dangerously sick of the Dropsie."

Mundy's next journey was to Colchester "about some occasions[4]." Shortly after he came back to London, his "Master left this life[4]" and Peter Mundy was once more

[1] See p. 139. [2] See p. 140. [3] See p. 142. [4] See p. 143.

thrown on his own resources. Having nothing to detain him in the capital, he "went downe" to his "freinds in Cornewall by Land[1]." He "remained a while att Home," and next "made a voyage" to St Malo and Jersey, but whether on business or for his own pleasure is uncertain. It is not improbable, however, that he was sent to Brittany by his relatives in connection with the pilchard business. At St Malo, he admired the harbour, and the "very great Strength and traffique[2]" of the place. He was also impressed by the fierce watch-dogs that guarded the town at night. Thence, he went to Jersey and again "returned to St. Maloes and soe home[3]."

Mundy's active nature would not allow him to settle down to a quiet life. He pined for regular occupation and was also anxious to "see forraigne Countries[4]." In October, 1627, he addressed a petition to the Directors of the East India Company, praying for employment in India as a factor, and "to proceed thither on their next shipps[5]." Unfortunately, the petition itself does not exist, but the substance of it is given in the Proceedings of the Court of Directors[6] on the 31st October, 1627, as follows:—"Peter Mundy late servant to Mr Richard Wich having kept his masters bookes petitioned for imployment as a Factor, and shewed by his petition that hee lived three yeares at Constantinople, and hath in some good measure gayned the French, Spanish and Italian tongues, besides hee was well commended to bee of Civill conversation. The Court called him in and demaunded what allowance hee had from his Master. Hee answeared 20*li.* per annum. They therefore resolved of his intertaynement for five yeare, and to allowe him 20*li.* per annum, which hee Conceived to bee too smale a sallary. The Court left it to his Consideration and election to accept or refuse as hee shall thinck meete."

It was natural that Mundy should consider his five

[1] See p. 143. [2] See p. 144.
[3] Court Minutes, vol. x. p. 134.

years' experience under Richard Wyche as of some monetary value, and that he would be loth to start at the same salary as before. Whether his own arguments prevailed, or whether, as is more likely, his influential friends put in a word in his favour, it is clear that the Directors were induced to alter their decision of the 31st October, 1627. On the 22nd February, 1628, Mundy's entertainment as an "Under Factor" is noted in the Minutes, his salary being £25 per annum[1]. Moreover, an advance of £5 was made to him for "his better accomodation and setting out to sea."

The Court of the East India Company at this time consisted, among others, of four members, the Garraways and the Harbys, who had direct or indirect knowledge of Mundy's abilities. The two Garways (or Garraways), Sir Henry and his brother William, were both also connected with the Levant Company and would know of Mundy's relations with the Wyche family and of his voyage to Constantinople on the *Royall Merchant* in company with their brother James, in 1617[2]. These two Directors probably supported Mundy's petition, but the Harbys, Job and Clement, could speak from personal experience of the applicant's character and capacity. Job (afterwards Sir Job) Harby was cousin and brother-in-law of Mundy's late masters, James and Richard Wyche, and was one of the executors to the will of Richard Wyche, senior[3]. The fact that, while in India, Mundy specially requested a friend to convey a letter home to Job Harby seems to show that, in some degree, he owed his appointment to the Harby influence. His connection with the Wyche family, and, through them, with the Harbys, must have lasted for many years. In his "Occurrences, Passages, observations" etc. at the end of his MS., Mundy has a paragraph about his old friends and also a reference to William Garraway[4]:—

[1] See note 1 on p. 145. [2] See p. 14. [3] See *Appendix* B.

[4] This extract explains Mundy's remark quoted in note 7 on p. 156, also pp. 162 and 165. It is unfortunate that the paragraph was not unearthed in time to add to *Appendix* B.

"1659 and 1660. *Mr. Nathaniel Wiche dead in East India and Mr. Wm. Garraway in Persia.* About this tyme newes by letters from India overland from Surat to Agra, and soe to Aleppo, of the Death of Mr. Nathaniell Wyche, who died at Surat about this time twelve month. I have known the father old Mr. Richard Wyche, nine of his sonnes and three of his Daughters, *viz.* Richard, Thomas, Peter, George, James, Julius, Edward and Nathaniel, all dead, the last within eight monthes of his arrivall in India, being President at Surat. They were twelve brethren, only Henry remaining, and six sisters, three alive[1]. Allso the Death of Mr William Garraway Agent in Persia, who went from England about the same tyme."

Between October, 1627, when he applied for a post under the East India Company, and February, 1628, when his appointment was confirmed, Mundy "went downe into the Countrie to take leave[2]" of his friends and spent the Christmas of 1627 at Penryn. In the New Year, he once more journeyed to London "to attend my honourable Imployers will and pleasure[3]."

Following his usual custom, Mundy gives a table of distances traversed in the various short journeys recounted in *Relation* III. and states that "theis severall Traverses... amounteth in all to the some of Miles 6080[3]," so that, before he set out on his first voyage to India, at the age of about thirty, he had covered, according to his own reckoning, 25,312 miles.

With his voyage to India in the *Expedition*, another period of Mundy's life begins, and the story of his experiences in the East will be told at length in volume II. of his *Travels*.

I have now followed Mundy's career up to the end of his early European journeys, and it will be of interest to remark on his personality as shown in his MS. His prominent characteristics in boyhood and early manhood were love of travel, acute observation, and an insatiable appetite for information of all kinds. He was interested

[1] See *Appendix* B. [2] See p. 144. [3] See p. 145.

in everything he saw, and recounts details regarding the habits, clothes and customs of the people with whom he came in contact, with the same vigour and picturesqueness as he describes the scenery of the countries through which he travelled and the architectural features that attracted his notice. Thus, he pauses in his story of the journey across Turkey to descant on "Bathes, Besistenes and Canes," all of them strange to an English eye, and digresses to explain the various kinds of punishments adopted by the Turks. And then, to "divert" his readers' minds from such horrors, he passes on to what appears to be the only early seventeenth century account of the "severall sorts of Swinging used in their Publique rejoycings." At Belgrade, he took special notice of the "Bulgarians" [Servians], describing their appearance and clothes, and remarking on their food and marriage customs. At Sarajevo, too, he is struck with the muscular strength of the inhabitants. Later on, he gives us details of a lazaretto and rules as to quarantine, comments on the disease of goître, and so forth.

His historical facts are, for the most part, as accurate as his geographical descriptions. He tells us of the revolutions at Constantinople in 1617/8, of the rise and downfall of Caspar Gratiani, Voïvode of Moldavia, and of the visit of Būrūn Kāsim, the Persian ambassador to Constantinople in 1618. The death of Cardinal Boromeo, the siege of Vercelli, the marriage of Victor-Amadeus of Savoy, the exploits of Joan of Arc, the loss of Gascony by the English, the death of the Duke of Medina Sidonia and the Cardinal Duke of Lerma, the murders of Henri IV. and the Maréchal d'Ancre, and many other happenings both before and after his journeys are all remarked upon by Mundy with more or less detail.

There are very few allusions to personal experiences in this volume, and, beyond the facts that he contracted an ague in the journey down the Loire, escaped a trick with a copper chain, and found posting across France a "very painefull employment," Mundy tells us little of himself.

His library, as far as can be gathered from his MS., was a considerable one for a man of no fixed abode. At the time he wrote his earlier *Relations*, he had probably had but little leisure for reading, but, by 1650 and 1655 when he revised the earlier accounts of his travels, he had acquired a thorough knowledge of Ralegh, Knolles, Holyoke, Blount, Purchas, Gainsford, Grimston and Sandys, whose works he would seem to have possessed as he quotes largely from some of them.

Living at a time of strong religious feeling in England, and probably brought up by his uncle, the Rev. John Jackson of North Petherwin, on the borderland between Cornwall and Devonshire, Mundy frequently exhibits a deeply religious habit of thought, and expresses it after the fashion of his day. At the end of almost every story of his voyages and journeys, he records his thankfulness to the Almighty for preservation from dangers and a safe home-coming; and on his return to England in 1647, he calculates that, in the thirty-six years from 1611, he has travelled upwards of 100,833 miles, and remarks that he has been "preserved from 2000 Dangers." At the same time, Mundy abundantly shows himself by his observations to have been a man of remarkably broad views, and, though apparently a Royalist and an Anglican, he has no gibes against Puritanism, nor, indeed, does he ever indulge in any bitter references to creeds other than his own.

Mundy's energy, perseverance and capacity for work were enormous. Idleness seems to have been abhorrent to him, nor does he appear to have had any expensive tastes or any great love of pleasure and amusement. It troubled him to remain at home "waisting of meanes." His chief delight was to follow his "habitual Disposition of travelling," and certainly he must have gratified his taste almost to the full; the one bitter drop in his cup being his inability to carry out his desire of circumnavigating the globe. In disposition, Mundy comes before us genial and tender-hearted, a lover of his fellow-men and a partisan of the oppressed. He has many mentions of his

"friends," even in these early voyages, and his championship of the weak is shown by the warmth with which he speaks of the oppressions endured by the Christians at the hands of the Turks.

The great charm, however, of this original man is his transparent naturalness. In his writings, there is no self-consciousness, no striving after effect. He tells his story throughout with unaffected candour, avoiding alike the verbosity of Coryat and the stilted style of Gainsford. The later volumes will reveal him as a man worthy both of respect and admiration.

The Mundy MSS.

Only one complete copy of Mundy's work is known to exist, viz. the MS. volume now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, catalogued as *Rawlinson MS.* A. 315. From this volume the present transcript has been taken.

Mundy would seem to have made no notes of his early voyages before the year 1620. In that year he kept a diary of his journey from Constantinople to London. From 1621 to 1627 he again kept no regular chronicle of his journeys. In 1628, however, while on his first voyage to India in the *Expedition*, and in 1634, on the return voyage to England in the *Royall Mary*, he occupied his enforced idleness on board ship in writing from memory the story of his early years, in putting into shape his diary of the events in 1620, and in amplifying his notes on all that had happened during the six years he had spent in India. These various stories he split up into nineteen *Relations*[1], of which three only deal with his early European travels.

On Mundy's return to England, he had a copy made of his book and gave it into the care of Sir Paul Pindar. The original he carried with him to Cornwall, where it was doubtless received with wonder and delight by his friends at Penryn. In the following year, when Mundy went to

[1] See pp. 7, 8.

London to make arrangements for his voyage to China, he left his MS. with his father, "who promised to send itt after mee, Butt lending itt to one or other, itt came not to hand, Soe went to Sea without itt[1]." No trace of this first MS. has been discovered and Mundy evidently considered it irretrievably lost. The copy left with Sir Paul Pindar happily escaped a similar fate and is now among the *Harleian MSS.* at the British Museum.

During the voyage to China, Mundy kept a journal "in the Nature off the former[1]," and on his return to England, finding his original MS. "not to bee procured" he had Pindar's copy "coppied outt againe into this booke, adding and Joyning thereto[2]" the narrative of the events of the succeeding years. Thus much Mundy tells us in his *Preface*, which appears to have been written in 1639 or quite early in 1640. The re-copying of *Relations* I. to XIX. was probably done under Mundy's own eye as there are additions in the *Rawl. MS.*, not found in the *Harl. MS.*, such as the accounts of staking, gaunching, etc. which he may have dictated to the copyist as the work was proceeding. The *Harl. MS.*, too, bears traces of careful revision by Mundy. There are corrections in his writing, but no great additions such as those in the *Rawl. MS.* The corrections were most likely made either in 1634, from the original MS., or in 1639 when the second copy, *Rawl. MS.* A. 315, was begun.

In 1640, when Mundy set out on his trading voyage to Holland, Prussia, etc., it is most probable that he took his MS. with him and continued the narrative of his travels in his spare time, unless indeed he only kept rough notes, which he amplified after his return to England in 1647. At any rate, we know that, while at Penryn, early in 1650, he revised the whole of his MS., adding to his title the names of the European countries visited after 1639, and inserting, besides many scattered notes, the *Supplement* to *Relation* I.[3] At Penryn, too, in the same year, he wrote

[1] See p. 2. [2] See p. 2 f. [3] See pp. 24—40.

his first *Appendix* which contains notes on the following subjects:—"The Courten Voyage; The Paradox of the Earth's Motion; The Changes in Ringing of Bells; The County of Cornewall and Towne of Penrin; Occurrences at Penrin in 1649."

Four years later, when in London, Mundy was again bent on revising his MS., for, as will have been already seen[1], he wrote, on the 16th December, 1654, "My intention is, if God spare mee life and leisure, to Copy outt this booke over againe, as well to rectifie whatt is amisse according to my abilitie, as allsoe to insert many things omitted by mee." This intention of re-copying his book seems never to have been carried out, for, owing to family misfortunes, Mundy was compelled, in 1655, to seek fresh employment, and, in March of that year, he made his third voyage to India. This time we are certain that he had his MS. with him, for the addition to his description of the amphitheatre at Verona, copied from Sandys' *Travels*, is in his own writing and is dated "*Alleppo Merchant*" (the ship in which he sailed to India), "August 2d, anno 1655[2]." During his voyage to and from India, Mundy probably once again revised his MS. and continued his life-story up to date.

After his return to England, he began his last *Appendix* of "some Occurrences, Passages, etts. since my last coming home." From 1658 to 1663 he wrote in London, and from 1663 to 1667 in Penryn. He prefaces this last portion of his MS. with the remark, "Having leisure and spare paper I thought it nott amisse to set downe some accidents that have hapned since my last arrivall from India to this Citty which I have either seen or hearde of." The second *Appendix* bears no evidence of revision and the writing, though still excellent, shows traces of age. The MS. concludes with a copy of the Royal Proclamation after the Treaty of Breda, which "was read in our town in Penrin the eleventh of September Anno 1667."

The MS., a thick folio volume, has no title on the

[1] See p. xviii. [2] See p. 102 f.

cover, is bound in white vellum, and contains, inclusive of the Preface and some leaves inserted and not numbered, 510 foolscap pages. The part done by the copyist, fols. 1—111, is in a beautiful seventeenth century clerkly hand, while Peter Mundy's own writing is of an earlier style, more difficult to decipher, but regular and well formed. Of the 247 fols. as numbered by Mundy, 150 deal with India and the East. The MS., which is in excellent preservation, contains 117 illustrations, all apparently executed by the author in and after the year 1639. It has besides six engravings and six double-page maps by Hondius. On these Mundy has marked his routes with red dotted lines. All the maps, except that of the World, indicate the journeys described in *Relations* I. to III. Though Mundy apologises for his illustrations, and says that he has "no skill in portraicture[1]," most of the spirited pen-and-ink drawings which adorn his work are quite worthy of their place therein. Those, however, which are reproduced in the present volume are not among his best, and hardly give a fair idea of his skill as a draughtsman. Many of the pictures, as the author tells us, were not "taken att Sight...butt long after, by apprehension off such things seene," and were drawn on loose papers which could be replaced if he should "perchaunce cause them to bee better Don[1]."

Harl. MS. 2286, which has been carefully collated with *Rawl. MS.* A. 315, as far as was necessary for the present volume, was, as previously stated, copied from the original in 1634 and left with Sir Paul Pindar. It contains no illustrations, is in an excellent clerk's hand and in good preservation. It has been in the custody of the British Museum since 1759 and was catalogued by Humfrey Wanley for the Earl of Oxford some time before 1726. Wanley's remarks are worth quoting:—*Harl. MS.* 2286. "A Book in folio, not negligently written, rather seeming to be prepared for the press; which at the beginning is

[1] See p. 4.

thus entitled, 'A breife Relation of certaine Journies and Voyages into France, Spain, Turkey and East India; passed and performed by Peter Mundy.' The Author or Traveller, who was of Penem[1] in Cornwall, first went into France A.D. 1609, and the next year[2], served in a Merchants Ship as a Cabbin-boy; from which Station, by degrees, he became employed in considerable business. He discovers a good Capacity joyn'd with Veracity; and divides his Narration into several Chapters, the Contents of which do follow the Title; of which I shall give the following Abstract, because I remember not that I have seen the Work itself in print." Here follows a Table of Contents of *Relations* I.—XIX. slightly enlarged from Mundy's "First Table." Wanley concludes his remarks on Mundy's work thus: "Although this Book be but a Copy, it is nevertheless corrected by the Author's hand."

Besides the *Rawl.* and *Harl. MSS.* there are some late copies of portions of Mundy's work. The *India Office* copy, which consists of *Relations* IV. to XXX. or the account of Mundy's first and second voyages to India, in 1628 and 1635 respectively, was apparently made from the *Rawl. MS.*, for it contains tracings of the illustrations found only in the complete work. It was presented to the India Office on the 5th October, 1814, by Thomas Fisher[3], F.S.A. This copy will be fully dealt with in the succeeding volumes.

Of the India voyages there are, too, early nineteenth century copies of events during Mundy's residence in India, 1628—1634, as told in *Relations* V., VI. and VII. There is also a copy of part of his voyage to China. These fragments were acquired by the British Museum in 1853 and are catalogued as *Add. MSS.* 19278—19281. They also will be fully dealt with in vols. II. and III.

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[1] *i.e.*, Penryn.

[2] This is incorrect, Mundy went to France in 1608, and began life as a cabin-boy in 1611.

[3] Fisher was born in 1771 and died in 1836.

The only other copy known to me of a part of Mundy's work is that contained in *Add. MS.* 33420, a volume of *Collections for the History of Cornwall*, made by Thomas Tonkin the Cornish historian (1678—1742). This MS. was, for some years, in the possession of the Ley family of Penzance, and was purchased by the authorities of the British Museum from the late Colonel H. H. Ley in December, 1888. Part 4 of the work consists of extracts made by Tonkin from Mundy's remarks on the "County of Cornewall and Towne of Penrin," together with a short note on the author and an abstract of the contents of his complete work. The portion of Tonkin's extract relating to the rising in Penzance in 1648 was reproduced by J. S. Courtney in his *Guide to Penzance*, and is the only piece of Mundy's writing, as far as can be discovered, that has so far ever been printed. Tonkin is responsible for the statement that Mundy intended to publish his work. He prefaces his extract from the MS. with the remark[1], "Peter Mundy being bred up also to the Sea and Merchandise from his Youth and of A Rambling Genius has Compiled A Large thick Folio Book Adorn'd with cuts, both drawn and Printed....Which Book He intended for the Press had not Death prevented him." Tonkin may have had the authority of the Worths, who then owned the MS., for Mundy's intentions as to its ultimate fate and also for his information that Richard Mundy was the father of Peter. The author himself, however, gives no hint that he contemplated printing the account of his Travels. He tells us, in his *Preface*, that the diaries of his early voyages were only "cursary" and superficial and "nott soe puntuall as I oughtt or Mightt have Don, never Making accompt to make Much accompt off itt[2]." His aim, when he first began his work, was to "keepe my owne remembraunce" and "to pleasure such Freinds Thatt are Desirous to understand somwhatt off Forraigne Countries[2]." Later, in 1639, he tells us that he intended to re-copy and

[1] *Add. MS.* 33420, fol. 104 b. [2] See p. 3.

revise the whole book, but eventually he appears to have abandoned this idea and only to have added fresh matter in his declining years.

How or when the Mundy MS. passed into the possession of the Worths is, at present, not known. When Tonkin examined it, it was the property of Mrs Dorothy Worth, "Relict of John Worth Junr. of Tremogh[1]," Mabe, Cornwall. An examination of the wills of the Worth family has revealed no relationship with the Mundys, but, as Mabe is only two miles distant from Penryn, it is reasonable to suppose that the Worths were known to Peter Mundy. Indeed, since there is no entry of his burial in the Penryn registers, he may have ended his days at Mabe and bequeathed his life's work to his friends. As Peter Mundy apparently died intestate, his last wishes as to the disposal of his effects must perforce rest on conjecture.

From the Worths, the Mundy MS. passed into the hands of Thomas Rawlinson, collector and bibliophile (1681—1725), by whom it was probably purchased. When the *Rawlinson MSS.* were sold, in 1734, Mundy's work was acquired by the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and there it has lain, practically forgotten for nearly 175 years.

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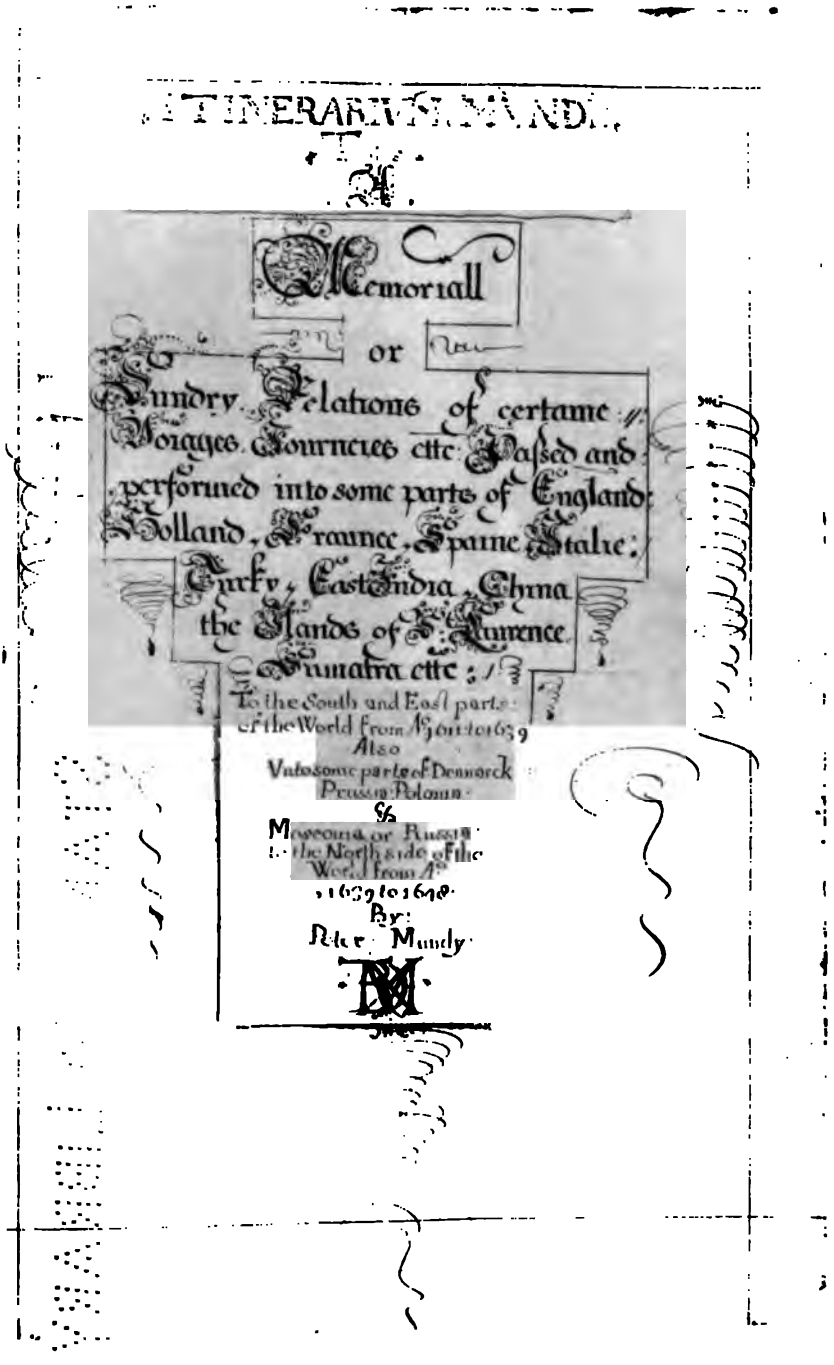
[1] *Add. MS.* 33420, fol. 104 b.



ITINERARIVM MVNDI

Memoriall

or

Sundry Relations of certaine Voiages Journeies etc: Passed and performed into some parts of England Holland, Fraunce, Spaine, Italie, Turky, East India, China the Ilands of S: Laurence Sumatra etc:

To the South and East parts of the World from A° 1611 to 1639

Also

Vnto some parts of Denmarck Prussia Polonia

&

Moscouia or Russia to the North side of the World from A° 1639 to 1648

By:

Peter Mundy

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF RAWLINSON MS. A. 315

(*Author's Title*)

ITINERARIUM[1] MUNDII

THAT IS

A
MEMORIALL

OR

SUNDRY RELATIONS OF CERTAINE VOIAGES JOURNEIES ETTC: PASSED AND PERFORMED INTO SOME PARTS OF ENGLAND: HOLLAND, FRAUNCE, SPAINE, ITALIE, TURKY, EAST INDIA, CHINA, THE ILANDS OF ST. LAURENCE, SUMATRA ETTC: TO THE SOUTH AND EAST PARTS: OF THE WORLD FROM ANNO 1611 TO 1639

ALSO[2] UNTO SOME PARTS OF DENMARCK PRUSSIA: POLONIA: & MOSCOVIA OR RUSSIE TO THE NORTH SIDE OF THE WORLD FROM ANNO 1639 TO 1648:

BY

PETER: MUNDY:

[1] Fol. 1 of the MS., which precedes the title, contains a double-page map of the World by Hondius, dated 1630. On it are traced in dotted red lines the routes of Mundy's Travels, with red ciphers to indicate the track of his *intended* Voyages.

[2] The second portion of the title is an addition, probably made when the author revised his MS. in 1650. In the British Museum copy, *Harl. MS.*, 2286, the title is, "A Breife Relation of Certaine Journies and Voyages into Fraunce, Spaine, Turkey and East India, passed and performed by Peter Mundy."

(*Author's Preface.*)

PREFACE[1] BY WAY OF ADVERTISEMENT FOR AND IN THE READING OF THE FOLLOWING RELATIONS.

Those voyages, Journeies, etts. Thatt befell mee From the tyme off my First Departure From my Parentts[2] untill the tyme off my First arrivall from East India[3], I did sett Downe together in one booke[4]. This Booke, att my comming home, I carried with mee in to the Country[5] (The Coppy thereof beeing First taken and left in the Custody off the Right Honble. Sir Paul Pindar Knight[6]), and att my comming away againe lefft itt With my Father, who promised to send itt after mee. Butt, lending itt to one or other, itt came not to hand; Soe Went to Sea Without itt, The voyage to China, etts.[7] From whence, beeing returned[8], having allsoe kept a Journall of thatt voyage in the Nature off the Former[9], and the Oreginall thereof not to bee procured, I have caused the Coppy afforesaid to bee coppied outt againe into this booke,

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[1] There is no Preface in the British Museum copy, *Harl. MS.*, 2286.

[2] In 1608. [3] In Sept. 1634.

[4] *i.e. Relations* I., II., and III., which are reproduced in this volume. [5] To Penrhyn, in Cornwall.

[6] For the author's connection with Sir Paul Pindar, see Introduction and *Relation* II.

[7] In 1636. [8] In December, 1638.

[9] This "Journall" is embodied in *Relations* XXI.—XXX. The author's experiences during his first visit to India are described in *Relations* IV.—XIX.

adding and Joyning thereto this last voyage and occurrences[1]. In the reading whereof lett these Following advertisementts bee observed, beeing Devided into three generall heads, and each off these again into three braunches as Followeth:—

First. That itt consists of three Manner of Writing, viz.,

1. The Most and princopall is Journall Wise:—To say accidentts, passages off every Daies Journey by land, and each Daies sayling by Sea, off which I took butt a Cursary and superccall[2] Notice as a Passenger, and, To say truth, nott soe puntuall as I oughtt or Mightt have Don, Never Making accomptt to make Much accomptt off itt. What I Did Was some Whatt aswell to keepe my owne remembraunce on occasion off Discourse concerning perticularities off thes voyages, As allsoe to pleasure such Freinds (who mightt come to the reading thereof) Thatt are Desirous to understand somwhatt off Forraigne Countries.

2. Sundry passages recollected by Memory, as From my First setting Forth untill my arrivall att Constantinople[3], and here and there some clause or other, butt Not Many, off Which I took nott presentt Notice.

3. Here are in Divers places inserted the reports and Writings off others, as the tables off lattitude[4], longitude, etts. throughoutt this book, For Which I was beeholding unto my Freinds, Seamen, As allsoe Sundry relationes and reports off other Men according as the tymes and places gave some occasion to speak off[5].

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[1] This remark seems to refer to the "China Voyage." The author apparently wrote his Preface before making the voyages and journeys described in *Relations* XXXI.—XXXVI.

[2] *i.e.* superficial.

[3] In 1617.

[4] The first of these "Tables" occurs in *Relation* IV.

[5] *e.g.* the extracts from Blount, Gainsford, Sandys, etc. in the author's *Supplement* to *Relation* I.

Secondly, in the Designes or Figures[1] there is to bee considered—

1. Thatt they Were nott taken att Sight (Most of them) as they oughtt to have bin, butt long after, by aprehension off such things seene.

2. Thatt I have no skill in portraicture, only I have endeavoured to expresse the Most Meteriall off the things mentioned.

3. They are all drawne on loose papers, slightly pasted in, Which may bee easily taken out againe, because I may hereaffter perchaunce cause them to bee better Don and inserted in the void spaces lefft off purpose, and in the places off the other papers Now there Fastened[2].

Thirdly. These three pointts are to bee observed as Well in the reading off this Memoriall as off all others off this kind :—

1. Thatt India Comprehends (under thatt Name) a large extentt, The people Soe Farre Differing in Religion, Customes, habitts, etts., as they are Distantt in place, And the places so various in beasts, Fowle, Fruitts, plantts, etts. as they Differ in Scituation. Thereffore, to bee considered Whatt partt off India is spoken off or Meant, For India properly (as I conceave) is butt one province, Named Hindostan, Wherein (once Dilly) now Agra is the cheiffe seatt[3], and From Whence I conceave the Word India is Derived, or From the River Indus[4]. Butt Now under this Name is encluded From Persia even to China by sea and

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[1] There are 117 of these "designes or figures" in the *Rawlinson MS.*

[2] Some of the illustrations are gummed on to the text used, and others are interleaved. The "void spaces" are very few.

[3] Mundy was in India from 1628 to 1634, during the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign, and before he had removed the Court from Agra back to Delhi.

[4] The latter derivation is nearest the truth. The modern English 'India' is from (Skr.) *Sindhu*, through Persian *Hindu*, Greek Ἰνδοί and Ἰνδική, and Latin *India*. As also is 'Indus' through Greek Ἰνδός.

by land, there lying Many large vast kindomes beetweene, allso Inffinite Number off Ilands small and greatt, as Sumatra, Java, the Mollucaes, etts. in the South Sea[1], with others Dispersed in those Seas either to the Northward or South Ward off the lyne.

2. There may bee enquiry made off some thatt have bin in those parts and yett they know of Noe such Matter. Itt is to bee understood thatt either they have nott seene se [? so] not heard, or else have nott regarded. For example, a straunger May live in England Many yeares and perhapps nott know Whither there are any Otters or badgers in the Countrie or noe, because hee hath nott seene Nor enquired affter such, and soe consequently off some Customes, as pressing to Death[2], etts.

3. Lett any in the reading off Forraigne relationes (especially this) bee indulgentt and Deliberate in censuring, and not over hasty in reproach. I doe confesse the Matter to bee Meane and the phrase and Decorum Suiteable, yett full off variety and such as Most part thereoff not (as I conceave) to bee Found in other Writings; Allsoe, thatt itt is the Fruit off some vacantt houres in those long voyages by sea and on shoare, and the best end and purpose I know thereof is againe to serve to passe away tyme thatt may bee spared, Desiring No Farther estimation thereof thatt [? than] thatt it may bee reckoned among those recreationes Which are accompted honest and laudable (off Which sort are Musicke, painting, histories, civill

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[1] The trading places in the southern part of the Indian ocean, *e.g.* the Malay peninsula, Sumatra, etc., were, in the 17th century, commonly known as the "South Seas."

[2] An allusion to the punishment known as the *peine forte et dure*, the torture formerly applied to persons arraigned for felony, who refused to plead. Their prostrate bodies were pressed with heavy weights till they pleaded or died. The first Parliament of Edward I., 1275, is responsible for its introduction. The custom was not abolished till 1772, although it had been a 'dead letter' for many years previously.

Discours, etts.). I Doe allsoe confesse thatt Many things are Misplaced, as some First that should bee last, and soe to the Contrary; allsoe some things therin mought bee better lefftt outt and others omitted Were better in there place. Thus For Matter and phrase. All this allsoe I could Mend, and When I had Don, even begin againe, butt, as I said, the phrase is sutable to the Matter. Yett, however, lett this one thing breed some better liking off itt, Thatt I have endeavoured to com as Near the truth off the Matters Discribed as possibly I could attain unto by my owne experience or the Most probablest Relation off others.

I have inserted sundry Mappes in severall places of this Booke[1], in which you may observe redd pricked lines. Those Doe shew the Countries Wee passed through, the places Wee came unto, and the Way Wee went. Only Where the Way is traced with ciffres, Oes, or nulles, those voyages and Journies Were only intended and not performed for certaine reasons, and the way putt Down Which Wee should have gon, as from Macao in Chyna to the Manillas, from thence through the South Sea unto Aquapullco on the back side of America, soe overland to Mexico, St. John d'Ullooa etts., Fol. 148[2], and the Mappe of the World att the beginning of the booke; see there Allsoe from Arckangell in Russia upp the River Dweena to Vologda, thence to the Citty of Mosco, Smolensko, Vilna etts. and soe to Dantzigke in Prussia. See Fol. 198[3] and the Mappe of Europe att the beginning of the booke allso.

[1] The maps inserted in the *Rawlinson MS.* are seven in number, viz. The World, Europe, Turkey and Arabia, Italy, Savoy, Gaul, and Asia.

[2] A spot situated on the east coast of Mexico, north of Vera Cruz, formerly well-known to mariners, but which has now disappeared from modern maps. There is no mention of St John d'Ulloa on fol. 148 of the MS. In the paragraph which explains why Mundy did not complete his voyage round the world, he says he intended to go from Manilla" to "Aquapullco," and thence overland to "Pueblo de los Angeles."

[3] *i.e.* of the *Rawlinson MS.*

(*Author's Contents.*)

THE FIRST TABLE.

OF THE CONTENTS OF THE SEVERALL RELATIONES IN THIS BOOKE: VIZ:

Relation I. Of my First Departure From home about Anno 1608: untill my arrivall att Constantinople in Anno 1617 and Departure thence in Anno 1620[1].

Relation II. A Journey overland From Constantinople unto London beegun the 6th. of May Anno 1620.

Relation III. Other voyages, Journeies, etts. occurring since my arrivall att London untill the tyme of my entertaynementt For East India.

Relation IV. Journall of a voyage made in the good Shipp *Expedition*, burthen 350 tonnes, Thomas Watts Master, in company off the *Jonah*, burthen 800 tonnes, both bound For Suratt in East India under the Commaund of Captaine Richard Swanley[2].

Relation V. Some passages att Suratt since my arrivall there in September 1628 untill my Departure thence For Agra in November 1630 With a Discription of Sundry perticularities in and about Suratt aforesaid.

Relation VI. A Journey offe from Suratt in Guzaratt to Agra in Hindostan, whither Peter Mundy and John Yard were enordered and sentt by the Worshipfull Thomas Rastell President etts. Councell to assist Mr. William Fremlen, there residing, in the honourable Companies affaires.

Relation VII. A Journey From Agra to Cole and Shawgurre beeing Dispeeded by Mr. William Fremlen aboutt the Companies affaires.

Relation VIII. A Journey from Agra to Puttana on the borders off Bengala with eight cartts laden With Quicksilver a smalle peece

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[1] The titles of the *Relations* vary in the copies at the British Museum and at the India Office from those here given. The discrepancies will be noted under each separate *Relation*.

[2] The copy at the India Office begins with this *Relation*.

of vermillion and som English Cloath For accompt off the Honourable Company to bee there sold and returnes made As allso to see the estate of the Country and Whatt hopes off Beneffitt by trading into those partts.

Relation IX. Reasons alleadged by Peter Mundy beeffore his Departure Agra thatt the sending him for Puttana With the Companies goods may nott only proove to theer losse but is playnely against the Presidentts and Counsells Meaning and intentt.

Relation X. The proceeding and Issue of the Imploymentt For Puttana.

Relation XI. Of Puttana and off Abdulla Ckhaun governour thereoff.

Relation XII. The Returne From Puttana to Agra.

Relation XIII. Discription off the Greatt Mogoll Shaw Jehan his comming from Brampore, Where hee lay Warring against Decan, unto his Gardein called Darree ca bag, and so to Agra.

Relation XIV. The greatt Mogoll his riding to Buckree Eede his Courtt, Marriage of his two sonnes Favourites etts.

Relation XV. Of Agra: Whatt Notable there and thereaboutts, as the Castle, gardeins, tombes, Festivalls, Customes, etts.

Relation XVI. A Journey from Agra to Suratt with a Caphila consisting of 268 Cammells and 109 Carts, Whereon Was laden 1493 Fardles of Indico and 12 Fs. off Saltpeter etts. goodes, Dispeeded by Mr. William Fremlen under the Conduct off Peter Mundy with a Convoy off 170 Peones or Souldiers.

Relation XVII. Some passages and troubles More perticulerly concerning the Caphila afforementioned occurring in the Conductt theroff.

Relation XVIII. Off India in generall and off the Mareene att Swally.

Relation XIX. Journall off a voyage from Suratt to England on the Shipp *Royall Mary*, Commaunder Captain James Slade, Wherin Went home passengers Mr. John Norris, Cape Merchant, Mr. Henry Glascock, Mr. Thomas Willbraham, and my selff Factors[1].

Relation XX. Some observations since my arrivall home From India Anno 1634 untill my Departure thither againe on Sir William Courteenes shippes.

Relation XXI. Journall off a voyage off a Fleet consisting off four shippes and two pinnaces sett Forth by the right Worshipfulle Sir William Courtene, Knight; the Designe For India, China,

[1] "The Table" in the copy, *Harl. MS.*, 2286, ends here.

Japan, etts. on a New Discovery off traffique in those parts, Devided in to Sundry relationes allsoe Following the Number afforegoing, and First From England to Goa in East India[1].

Relation XXII. Our Departure Goa and arrivall att Battacala, Where was setled a Factory.

Relation XXIII. Since our Departure Battacala in East India untill our arrivall att Achem on the Iland of Sumatra: our setling off a Factory there allsoe, With other passages.

Relation XXIV. Our Departure from Achem on Sumatra, our toutching att Mallacca and arrivall att Macao in China, With our reception there by the Portuguees etts. passages.

Relation XXV. Our Departure From Macao: and arrivall att Fumahone, Tayffoo, etts., places att the Mouth off Cantan River With our Daungers and troubles there undergon etts. occurrences.

Relation XXVI. From the tyme off our Departure Tayffoo untill our arrivall att Macao againe and Whatt traffick Wee obteyned there off the Portuguees att last; etts. passages in the Interm.

Relation XXVII. Our Departure From Macao in China, our toutching att Mallacca and arrivall att Achem on the Iland off Sumatra.

Relation XXVIII. Since our Departure from Achem on the Iland off Sumatra untill our arrivall att the Iland off Mauritius and departure thence againe.

Relation XXIX. From the Iland off Mauritius unto the Iland off Madagascar or Saint Lawrence, Where Wee Wintred.

Relation XXX. Our Departure From the Iland of Madagascar or Saint Lawrence, our toutching and reffreshing att the Iland off Saint Hellena and our arrivall att last unto the Iland off Greatt Brittaine.

Relation XXXI. A Petty Progresse through som parts off England and Wales.

Relation XXXII. A passage From England over in to Holland With some perticularities off thatt Country.

Relation XXXIII. A voyage from Amsterdam unto Dantzigk in the Baltick Sea, With some whatt off Prussia etts. Countries adjoyning.

Relation XXXIV. A voyage from Dantzigk in the East or Baltick Sea unto Saint Michael Arckangell in Russia, lying on the White Sea, with the return From thence and some small observation off those Northerne Regions.

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[1] The titles of *Relations* XXI.—XXVI. are given, with some variations, in the India Office copy and in the late copy at the British Museum, *Add. MSS.*, 19281.

Relation XXXV. Of Dantzigk, some perticularities of thatt Citty Sett Downe, With my Departure thence and arrivall home to England once againe.

Relation XXXVI. My third voyage to East India on the Ship *Alleppo Merchantt* for Rajapore etts.

An **Appendix** somwhatt Concerning the former Relations as allsoe Matter of exercise and recreation after the reading of soe many tedious voyages and Weary Journies. Penrin the fourth february Anno 1649[1].

Some **Occurrences, Passages,** etts. since my last comming home London 9th. August 1658[2].

Some **Occurrences** of these Tymes etts.[3]

COMPUTATION OF MILES TRAVELLED AND SAILED IN THE SEVERALL JOURNEIES & VOYAGES MENTIONED IN THIS MEMORIALL VIZ:

From my First going Forth With Capt: Davis, Anno 1611, till my arrivall at Constantinople with Mr. James Wiche, 1617, there hath bin gon in Sundry voyages Journeies etts. somme of Miles **17394**

From Constantinople home by Land with the Honorable Paul Pindar, late Embassador there with the Grand Signior, Anno 1620 . . . . . **1838**

Severall voiages, Journeies, etts. since my arrivall in England, 1620, till I Was bound outt and sett saile For East India, 1628 **5880**

From London to Suratt in East India in Just six monthes tyme **13713**

From Suratt to Agra, the head citty of India by land, Anno 1630 **551**

From Agra to certaine townes thereabouts and to the River Ganges **180**

From Agra to Puttna in Bengala on the River Ganges, by land **400½**

From Puttana backe to Agra Anno 1632 . . . . . **422⅝**

From Agra Downe to Suratt With a Caphila of Indico etts. 1632 **598**

From Suratt home on the *Royall Mary*, Capt. Jas. Slade, Anno 1634 . . . . . **13718½**

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[1] This Appendix was probably added by the author when he revised his MS. after the loss of the original of the first part, as stated on p. 2. The appendix is continued up to 1654.

[2] These "Occurrences" are continued up to 1660.

[3] *i.e.* from 1660 till 1667.

From London Downe to Penrin and upp againe twice, Anno 1635 880
From England to Sundry ports and Ilands in East India, As allso to Macao etts. places in the kingdom of China, August, Anno 1637 17141
From Tayffoo, Macao, etts. in China and East India home, beeing beaten back to Madagascar or St. Laurence there to Winter, Anno 1638 18923
From England, viz. Falmouth, through some parts of England and Wales over to Holland, thence to Dantzigk on the East or Baltick Sea : Anno 1640 1944
From Dantzigk on the Baltick Sea unto Arckeangell in Russia on the White Sea, aboutt by the North Cape alongst the Coasts and in sight of Norwey, Lapland, Fynland, by Way of Lubeck and Hambro : and back againe to Dantzigk, Anno 1641 . 5840
From Dantzigk to London and Downe to Falmouth once again, 1647 1410
From Falmouth to London, from thence to East India, and backe againe to London, in August, Anno 1656 . . . 27900

THE SECOND TABLE.

(Author's Index.)

AN ALPHABETICALL TABLE[1] For the finding off sundry particularities Dispersed throughoutt this book and Where this Mark * is you must looke over the leaffe.

[Here follows the author's index of 418 entries, which is not printed. It occupies five foolscap pages in the MS.[2]]

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[1] This Index is arranged under the letters of the alphabet, but the words are, nevertheless, not in alphabetical order. There are several additions in a different ink, evidently made at a later date. In many cases, a definition of the word indexed is given as well as its location in the MS. Where these definitions elucidate the text, they have been appended as footnotes.

[2] Immediately after the Index three prints are inserted in the MS. The smallest contains the portrait of Thomas Candyssh, the navigator, at the age of twenty-eight. By his side is a portrait of Sir Francis Drake at the age of forty-three. Beneath these two is a picture of a three-masted ship in full sail, with flags and pennants flying.

Following the three illustrations is a double-page map of Europe, by Hondius, dated 1631, with the route of Mundy's voyages and journeys marked in red dotted lines. The reverse of the map is covered with extracts from Blount's *Voyage in the Levant* and notes by the author, made in February, 1650. These are intended to amplify and illustrate his early European travels, and are printed and treated in *Appendix* A.

SUNDRIE RELATIONS OF CERTAIN VOYAG'S, JOURNEIES, ETTS., PASSED AND PERFORMED BY MEE, PETER MUNDY, VIZT.[1]

RELATION I.

Of my first departure from home about Anno 1608 *untill my arrivall at Constantinople in Anno* 1617 *and departure thence in Anno* 1620 *as followeth.*

FROM Penrin[2] in Cornewall, I passed with my father to the Cittie of Roane[3] in Normandie, where wee stayed one moneth, and then retourned home, from whence I was sent to Bayon[4] in Gascony to learne the French Tongue, where, haveinge remayned one yeare, I came home againe in the yeare 1610.

The 1st. May, 1611. I left my Parents, and went upp to London with Captaine John Davis[5], whome I served as

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[1] In the British Museum copy of Mundy's Travels, *Harleian MS.*, 2286, the title of *Relation* I. is, "Sundrie Relations of Certaine Journies and Voyages" etc., and the title in "The Table" is, "Imprimis my passage with my Father to the Cittie of Roane in Normandie, Anno 1610, and at my returne a Voyage from London to Constantinople."

[2] "Penrin, a pretty towne in Corne Wall." Author's *Index*.

[3] Rouen. [4] Bayonne.

[5] This man is neither Captain John Davis of Sandridge, the celebrated explorer, nor Captain John Davis of Limehouse, who was in the East India Company's service; but it is possible that he may be the John Davis, "son of William Davis of Gracious Street, London, just come from Spain," who was imprisoned in March 1619 for refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance and for affirming the Pope to be the sole authority in ecclesiastical matters in England. See *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1619—1623, under dates 22 March 1619 and 29 July 1625.

Cabbin boy three or four Voyages, vizt. to Sanlucar de Barrameda[1], Cadiz[2], Mallaga, etc., and att length was left by him att Sanlucar afore said with Mr. George Weaver[3], dwellinge in the howse of Sr Pedro Patinno[3]. There I stayed some two yeares, from whence I was sent upp to the Cittie of Sevill to remaine with Mr. Charles Parker[3], and from thence I went to Ayamonte[4], soe over to Castro Mareen and Tavila[5] in Portugall, and back againe to Cevill[6], where I lived twoe yeares more, and in that tyme attained the Spanish Tongue. From Sevill I came to London againe[7] with my first Master Captaine Davis[8].

I had not bene att home fifteen dayes, but I was sent away with Mr. James Wiche[9], bound for Constantinople in the Shipp the *Royall Marchant*, Captaine Josua Downinge[10], with whome went passengers Mr. James Wiche aforesaid my then Master, Mr. James Garroway[11], Mr. Bartholomew

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[1] At the mouth of the Guadalquiver, near Cadiz. Compare *The Voyage to Cadiz in* 1625, by John Glanville, pp. 6, 35, "The Bay of Cadiz or St. Lucas.....St. Mary Port near the Bay of Cadiz was a lowe shore and more apt for landing of Men then anie place about St. Lucar."

[2] "Cadiz or Cales, a towne in Spayne." Author's *Index*.

[3] I have failed to find any contemporary mention of these individuals. Parker's name is omitted in the British Museum copy of Mundy's early Travels, *Harl. MS.*, 2286.

[4] A fortress at the mouth of the Guadiana.

[5] Castro Marin and Tavira are close to Ayamonte, on the Portuguese side of the river.

[6] Probably a copyist's error. The author has Sevill in his *Index* and elsewhere in the MS.

[7] In January, 1617.

[8] See *ante*, p. 13, note 5.

[9] James Wyche was the sixth son of Richard Wyche, a prosperous London merchant, who had twelve sons and died in 1621. For an account of the family, and the author's connection with Richard, George, James and Edward Wyche, see *Appendix* B.

[10] For the Sailing Orders of the *Royall Marchant*, together with a short account of Captain Joshua Downing, see *Appendix* C.

[11] The Garways or Garraways were well-known Levantine and East Indian traders, who gave their name to Garraway's Coffee-house in Change Alley, one of the most famous in the 18th century. James Garraway was probably one of the seventeen children of Sir William Garway or Garraway and brother to Anthony Garraway, who was

Abbott[1], Mr. Roger and Mr. Charles Vivian[2], with five or six other Merchants[3]. In our Passage wee made sondry Ports, vizt. Gibraltare[4], Mallaga[5], Alicante[6], Majorca[7],

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residing in Constantinople in 1617. It is likely, too, that James Garraway was sent to Constantinople in connection with the affairs of Arthur Garraway. This individual was imprisoned during the reign of Ahmad I., and the English ambassadors, Sir Paul Pindar and Sir Thomas Roe both made unsuccessful attempts to recover what had been extorted from him by the Turks. In July, 1617, Pindar wrote to the Levant Company, and "amplie related the ill successe he had had in the prosecuting the suite for the restitution of Mr. Arthur Garrawayes moneys obtaining nothing but delayes, and in the end no Performance." Sir Henry Garraway, the eldest son of Sir William Garraway, a Liveryman of the Drapers' Company, became Lord Mayor of London, and was a Director of the Levant, the East India and the Muscovy Companies. His career is given at length in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Two other sons of Sir William Garraway, Thomas (who died in 1625) and William were among the earliest "Adventurers" in East India Stock. Thomas Garway was said to be the original proprietor of Garraway's Coffee-house, and, under the designation of "tobacconist and coffeeman," was the first retailer of tea. Garraway's Coffee-house, which was twice rebuilt, was demolished in 1873. See *The Times* 28 Jan. and 20 March 1873.

[1] Probably a relative of Mr (afterwards Sir) Morris Abbott, a member of the Levant Company and the owner of the *Royall Marchant*. Sir Morris Abbott was elected Governor of the East India Company in March 1624. He died in 1644.

[2] In July, 1620, Roger Vivian was made free of the Levant Company (*State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 148, p. 43 a), and in 1633 Charles Vivian was admitted a "sworn free brother of the East India Company, bound to Sir Morris Abbott" (*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, East Indies*, 1630—1634, p. 506).

[3] All these were "Turkey merchants" trading under the Levant Company.

[4] "Gibraltar: a town at the straights Mouth." Author's *Index*. In 1599, Gibraltar is called Jebbatore by Dallam. See *Early Voyages in the Levant*, p. 11. In the British Museum copy of Mundy's early Travels, *Harl. MS.*, 2286, the head-line from this place until the arrival at Scanderoon is, "Sundry Ports and Places in the Straights."

[5] "Mallaga, a seaport, Within the straights mouth." Author's *Index*. Malaga is called "grand Malligan" by Dallam. See *Early Voyages in the Levant*, p. 12.

[6] "Alicante, a towne in the streights." Author's *Index*.

[7] "Mayorca, a Citty and an Iland." Author's *Index*. Compare *The Journal of Richard Bell, Sloane MS.*, 811, fol. 45, "In our way to Messena...we past the iselands of Maj and Minyorke and by the Iseland of Sardna."

Alcadia in Minorca[1], Messena[2] on Scicillia[3], Zante, Scandarone or Allexandretta, Scio[4] neere Smirna, and soe to Constantinople, Att all which places (Alcadia excepted) were English Marchants[5], by whome wee were joyfully receaved and welcomed, our passage being very prosperous, pleasant and full of various Novelties and delights. Only about Cape St. Vincent there was like to have bene a terrible broyle[6] by the Comeinge in of the Kinge of Spaines Armade amonge our fleete in the night tyme, Wee suspectinge them to be Turkish Pyratts[7] as they did us, there being notice of twenty six saile lyeinge about the Straights mouth, the Spanish Fleete consistinge of about Twentie Galleons etc., and our Fleete of about thirty small and greate, bound for severall Ports. But, God bee praised, wee parted friends. Other matters of note in this our passage as I remember are, vizt.

Leghorne is the neatest, cleanest and pleasantest place that I have seene, their houses painted without side in Stories, Landskipps[8], etc., with various Coulors, makeing

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[1] Alcadia is, however, in Majorca.

[2] For a description of Messina in 1669, see *The Journal of Richard Bell, Sloane MS.*, 811, fol. 46.

[3] Dallam has "Sissillia." See *Early Voyages in the Levant*, p. 17.

[4] "Scio, a towne and an Iland in the Archepielago." Author's *Index*. An English Consul was established at Scio (or Chios) as early as 1513. For a description of Scio in 1616, see Lithgow, *Painefull Peregrinations*, ed. 1632, p. 102.

[5] Minorca is expressly noted in the Charter of 3 James I. to the Levant Company, as being one of the places included in their trading privileges, but there is no mention of Majorca. This would account for the absence of English merchants at Alcadia. The references to this place are omitted in the British Museum copy of Mundy's early Travels, *Harl. MS.*, 2286.

[6] Instead of "a terrible broyle" the passage in the *Harl. MS.*, 2286, reads, "a verie terrible and bloodie sea fight."

[7] The Turkish pirates, or Barbary Corsairs, as they were generally called, were the great obstacles to trade in the Mediterranean at this period.

[8] The contemporary spelling of landscape, but lantskip and landskip are more common than landskipp. See Murray, *Oxford English*

a verie delightfull shewe[1]. There they observe a Custome called Prattick[2], and is near two dayes journie from Florence.

Strombolo, neare Scicillia, is a little round, high Iland, castinge forth continuall flames of fire and smoake, not soe well perceaved by day as in the night, with such violence that it carrieth aboundance of stones and ashes out with it[3].

Dictionary, *s.v.* Landscape. The description of the "Landskipps" at Leghorn is omitted in the British Museum copy of Mundy's early Travels, *Harl. MS.*, 2286.

[1] Compare Struys, *Voyages and Travels*, ed. 1684, p. 67, "Leghorn...is one of the chief Havens in renowned Italy...The City on the out-side appears more magnificent than it is indeed inwardly: The Frontispieces, as well of Privat as Public Buildings being plaisterd, upon which are painted Sea-fights, Histories and Landschap." Struys visited Leghorn in 1657.

Compare also *A Journall of a Voyage thro' France and Italy* (in 1658), *Sloane MS.*, 2142, fol. 4, "Livorne is a very fine and handsome towne, though the ill lives of the Inhabitants doe some what defame it. It hath a very fine Port belonging to it, it being all the Port townes belonging to the great Duke of Florence, where reside many English Marchants and men of other Nations which is the cause that it is of the greatest repute for trade of any Port towne in Europe, It is a place of great strength wherein is alwayes a Governour and Garrison to defend the place."

[2] Pratique. Permission granted to the crew and passengers of a ship to enter a port, to land, trade, etc. See later on, in *Relation* II., where the custom is fully described by the author on his arrival at Spalato. Compare Dallam's account of "proticke," *Early Voyages in the Levant*, p. 19. In 1669, Richard Bell and John Campbell were detained in the Lazaretto at Leghorn for forty days; *The Journal of Richard Bell*, *Sloane MS.*, 811.

[3] Compare Lithgow, *Painefull Peregrinations*, ed. 1632, p. 398, "We fetched up the little Ile of Strombolo [in 1616]: This Isolet is a round Rocke, and a mile in Compasse, growing to the top like to a Pomo, or Pyramide, and not much unlike the Isolets of Basse and Elsey, through the toppe whereof, as through a Chimney, arriseth a continuall fire, and that so terrible, and furiously casting foorth great stones and flames, that neyther Galley nor Boate dare Coast or boord it."

In 1628, the Rev. Charles Robson thus describes Stromboli, in his *News from Aleppo*, p. 10, "At last we passed by a litle Island some five Leagues before we come to Sicilia, which belcheth out continually huge flames of fire. I did see it vomit up eight times while we sayled in sight of it: the name of this Island is Strumbola."

Compare also *The Journal of Richard Bell*, *Sloane MS.*, 811, "We weere becalmed amonge the burninge Iselands for two dayes. They are calld, 1 Strumbelo, 2 Vulcan, 3 Vulcanello * * * within

The Stones fallinge into the Sea fleete[1] on the water and by us are called Pummice stones, of which there is a naturall reason.

Zante a small Island from whence wee have Currence[2], of which the Inhabitants reape such benefitt as that they will not affoard themselves so much ground as to Till theire Corne[3], being supplyed from the Mayne. This

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three or four leagues six or seven little Iselands not Inhabbited, which smooke, but that cald Vulcan most, and now [in 1669] burnes more furiosly then Strumbeloe did, which at this day flames much most visible in the night."

[1] Old form of "float."

[2] Compare Shakespeare, *Winter's Tale*, IV. 3. 40, "Three pound of Sugar, four pound of Currence, Rice." Gainsford, *Glory of England*, p. 40, has, "Xante, an Iland famous for Vallies yeelding 4000 tunne of Corans every yeere."

[3] For Dallam's description of Zante in 1599, and for Covel's remarks (in 1670) on the prevalence of earthquakes in the island, see *Early Voyages in the Levant*, pp. 18 and 126.

The quaint description of Lithgow, who visited Zante in 1610, is worth quoting, *Painefull Peregrinations*, p. 64, "Zante was called Zacinthus, because so was called the sonne of Dardanus, who reigned there * * * It hath a Citty * * * subject yearely to fearefull Earthquakes, especially in the moneths of October and November, which oftentimes subvert their houses and themselves, bringing deadly destruction on all * * * This Ile produceth good store of Rasini de Corintho, commonly called Currants * * * The Ilanders are Greekes, a kind of subtile people, and great dissemblers; but the Signory thereof belongeth to Venice * * * And if it were not for that great provision of corne, which are dayly transported from the firme land of Peleponesus to them, the Inhabitants in short time would famish. It was credibly told me here by the better sort, that this little Ile maketh yearely * * * onely of Currants 160000 Chickins, paying yearely over and above for Custome 22000 Piasters, every Chicken of gold being nine shillings English, and every Piaster being white money sixe shillings. A rent or summe of mony which these silly Ilanders could never affoord * * * if it were not here in England of late for some Liquorous lips, who forsooth can hardly digest Bread, Pasties, Broth, and (verbi gratia) bag puddings without these currants * * * There is no other nation save this thus addicted to that miserable Ile."

George Sandys, who also visited Zante in 1610, says, *Travels*, ed. 1673, p. 4, that the islanders traded especially with England and Holland, that they paid yearly "unto St. Mark 48000 Dollars for Customs and other Duties," besides "their private gettings, amounting to 150000 Zechins * * * They sow little Corn, as imploying their grounds to better advantages, for which reason they sometimes suffer, being ready to starve, when the weather continueth for a season tempestuous, and that they cannot fetch their provision, which they

place is much frequented with Earthquakes, Subject to the Venetians, for which they pay a Certaine Tribute to the Turke that hee would not molest them.

Scandarone or Allexandretta is the Sea port of Alleppo[1], some three dayes Journie distant. It is very unwholsome by reason of the huge high hills hindringe the approach of the Sunne Beames, untill nine or ten a Clocke in the morning, lyeinge in a great Marsh full of boggs, foggs and Froggs[2], the Topps of the Mountaines continually covered with Snowe, aboundinge with wild beasts, as Lyons, Wylde Boares, Jacalls, Porcupines, etc. Of the latter, there was one killed, brought aboard, and

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have as well of Flesh as of Corn, from Morea, being ten leagues distant."

Struys, who visited Zante in 1658, remarks, *Voyages and Travels*, p. 98, "Sante or Xante * * * on this Island is a City containing about 4000 Houses, or rather Cottages, without chimneys, that they say, is by reason of frequent Earthquakes, of which they are in daily Jeopardy."

[1] Scanderoon, where the Levant Company had a Consul, was the outlet of the commerce of Aleppo. All the ships trading to the East touched at Scanderoon before going on to Constantinople.

[2] Compare Dallam's remarks on Scanderoon in 1599, *Early Voyages in the Levant*, pp. 28, 30. Compare also *News from Aleppo* (in 1628), p. 11, "Wee arrived in safety at Alexandretta alias Scanderone, which we found full of the carcases of houses, not one house in it. It having been a litle before sackt by the Turkish Pyrats. The unwholesomest place in the world to live in, by reason of the grosse fogges that both discend from the high mountaines, and ascend from the moorish [marshy] valleys. The hills about it are so high, that till ten of the clocke in the morning the Sunne seldome or never peepeth over them."

Among Mundy's notes on the extracts from Blount's *Voyage into the Levant*, most of which are given in *Appendix* A, is the following in connection with Scanderoon:—"Within eight or ten leagues of Alexandretta Sir Walter Rawleigh placeth the citty of Issus, where Darius King of Persia was overthrowne by Alexander Major, his great and pompous (although unwarlike) army routed, his Wife and Children taken prisoners; see the battaile of Issus, Sir W. R. p. 177: lib. 4 [p. 147 of ed. 1634]. In dicto Booke, lib. 4: p. 175 [p. 145 of ed. 1634], mention is made of the straights of Cilicia where Alexander passed into Persia, was questionless through some part of those mighty high hills near Alexandretta, continually covered with snow, and one overtopping another in height, being part of the Mountaine Taurus, which reckned to begin heere, and the ridge of hills running through divers countries, as India, are named Caucasus, beeing called diversly according to the countries it passeth through; in the Scripture they are called Ararat."

roasted, proveing very Savourie meate, haveing eaten part thereof myselfe, as also of a wild boare; great store of Wild fowle, haveing seene a flight of wild Swanns; aboundance of Fish.

Betweene Scandarone and Constantinople[1], wee passed among the fruitefull Islands of Archipielago, and soe upp the Hellespont, in which on the right hand, wee sawe the place Whereon once Troy[2] stood. This Hellespont, now called the River of Constantinople[3] (for any thinge I could gather), runneth continually one way, vizt. from the Blacke Sea into the Mediterraneum. The mouth of the Black Sea is about twenty miles above Constantinople, where is a small Island or Rocke, on which standeth a Marble Pillar, called Pompey's Pillar[4], which, (Tradition saith), hee erected there as the bounds of his Conquest, seeinge

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[1] In the British Museum copy of Mundy's early Travels, *Harl. MS.*, 2286, the head-line from this point is, "Voyage from London unto Constantinople."

[2] All the 17th century travellers in the East write at length on the ruins of Troy. See Dallam, *Early Voyages in the Levant*, p. 49, Lithgow's *Painefull Peregrinations*, pp. 122—125, Della Valle, *Voyages*, ed. 1664, vol. i. p. 12 f.

Compare also Struys, *Voyages and Travels*, p. 78, "Wee sailed into the River of Constantinople, where we found the Sea-Armade of Venice at Troy, which is the place and remnant of the famous Troy so much read of in the Poets of old, although it is hard to judge where the Town has verily stood. All that is to be seen is a Gate which is built of marble, and seems to be exceeding ancient, and a small village with the Foundations of a wall that encompasse the Town seven times."

[3] *i.e.* the Dardanelles. Compare Sandys, *Travels*, ed. 1673, p. 19 f.

[4] Compare Lithgow's description of Pompey's Pillar, *Painefull Peregrinations*, p. 140, "I went to the blacke Sea...where I saw Pompeyes Pillar of Marble, standing neere the shoare, upon a rocky Iland; and not far from thence, is a Lanthorne higher then any Steeple, whereon there is a panne full of liquor, that burneth every night to give warning unto ships how neare they come to the shore."

For other descriptions of the pillar, see Sandys, *Travels*, p. 31, Gainsford, *Glory of England*, pp. 181, 191, Della Valle, *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 34 f., Tournefort, *Voyage into the Levant*, vol. ii. p. 113.

When Hobhouse visited Constantinople in 1809—1810, there was nothing left of Pompey's Pillar but "a fragment of white marble a little more than five feet high and nine feet and a half in circumference." Hobhouse, *Journey through Albania*, vol. ii. pp. 869, 870.

noe more land beyond it. To this place one day divers Merchants resorted for recreation, my selfe beinge alsoe there. The Sea is accompted 250 leagues long and 70 leagues wide thereabouts.

Lastly the famous Port and Imperiall Cittie of Constantinople, of which there beinge soe ample and elegant description else where[1] (as in Mr. Sands travells[2], &c.), I forbeare reiteration, only thus much. Sultan Achmatt died att my beinge there[3], and his brother Sultan Mustapha seated on his throne[4], whoe within three monethes[5], upon dislike of his Government, was displaced by the Bashaes[6],

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[1] Constantinople has received full attention from all the early travellers. See the various descriptions quoted by the author in his Supplement to this *Relation*, added in 1649—1650. See also Busbequius, *Travels into Turkey* (in 1555), ed. 1744, pp. 46—54; Lithgow, *Painefull Peregrinations*, pp. 132—139; Della Valle, *Voyages*, ed. 1664, vol. i. pp. 24—45; Thévenot, *Travels into the Levant*, ed. 1687, Part i. pp. 19—28.

[2] Sandys, *Travels containing...A Description of Constantinople*, first published in 1615.

[3] On the 22nd November, 1617.

[4] Mustafa, Ahmad's weak-minded brother, whom he had kept in captivity for fourteen years. Compare Blount's account of this event, *Voyage into the Levant*, p. 125 f., "Now as all bodyes, though never so strong, are subject to blowes from without, and diseases within: so is this Empyre obnoxious to the Persian abroad, and errors of Government at home; one hath hapned of late years, which hath had pernicious disorder; that was the mercy of Achmat, to his brother Mustapha, whom he seeing a book-man, and weake, did not destroy; this was contrary to the Othoman custome; and left a subject for ambition, and disgust, which rather then be without, would make one of waxe if it were possible; much more dangerous was it to leave one of colourable pretext, where there was so insolent a faction as the Janyzaries: They forthwith served their turne hereof, who else had not beene provided of a King, and so forced to endure Osman, for feare of destroying that line, in whose defect, they fall under the petit Tartars, which they abhorre. This gave them occasion to taste the Blood Royall, whose reverence can never be restored, without abolishing the order of Janizaries, which hath been the Sword hand of the Empire."

[5] Here the author notes, "Three grand Signiors in three monethes."

[6] Turkish *bāshā*, a grandee. Mustafa was again imprisoned, after a reign of three months, by the Janissaries, who revolted in favour of Osmān. In 1622, he was once more dragged from prison, and for fifteen months was the nominal ruler, when he was again deposed in favour of Amurath IV. (Murād IV.).

and Ozman, eldest Sonne to Achmatt[1], was established, whoe lived att my comeinge away.

Heere the English Merchants passe verie Commodiousley with pleasure, love and Amitye amonge themselves, wearinge our owne Countrie habitt. Provision, fruite and Wyne very good varietye and plentie[2]. Heere I remained about three yeares. The second yeare after

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[1] Compare Grimston's Translation of Baudier's *History of the Imperiall Estate of the Grand Seigneurs*, p. 168 f. "Achmat ended his life and Raigne in the yeare 1617, he left two young sonnes, Osman and Amurath; He knew by experience that the weight of such a Crowne could not be borne by a Childe, and that the absolute government of the Turkish Monarchie required a man: He called to the succession of his Scepter, his brother Mustapha who had beene fourteene yeares a Prisoner in his Serrail, and made him to taste this sweet change, to come from a Dungeon to a Throne, and from the fetters of tedious captivitie to that power to command the greatest Estate upon the Earth. But the great rigour of his command, and the extravagances of his inconstant humour, made him odious to the Captaine Bassa; he gained the other three [*pāshās*], who drew the Souldiers and some great men unto their party, they unthroned him, put him into his Prison, and set up Osman sonne to his brother Achmat, This example was in our daye: but that which followeth is so fresh, as the newes hereof came when I was labouring about this worke. Osman not well satisfied with the affection of the Janizaries (who are the sinewes of his Estate) and disliking some of the four Bassa's, had an intent to change the Seat of his Empire to Cairo, and to abandon Constantinople; he prepares himselfe, gathers together as much Treasures as hee could, and covers his designe, with the pretext of a Pilgrimage to Meque, where he said his intent was to accomplish a vow, and to make as great a gift as ever Prince made unto a Temple of what Religion soever. When as he had managed his enterprize unto the day of his departure, when as his Galleyes were readie, and the Bassa of Caire come with an Armie to receive him; the Janizaries were advertised, they runne to the Serrail with the Consent of the Aga, the people are moved, the Captaine Bassa stirres them up, they take the Sultan in his Chamber, kill some great Men in his presence, dragge him into a prison, and there make him to suffer a shamefull death by the hands of an Executioner, having drawne Mustapha his Uncle out of Prison again, and crowned him the second time Soveraigne Sultan of the Turkish Empire."

The news of the deposition of Mustafa and also "that Sultan Ossaman eldest sonne of Sultan Achomet Cham, the grand Signior deceased was elected in his stead" was forwarded to the Levant Company by Sir Paul Pindar and was read in Court on the 15th April, 1618. *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 148, p. 11.

[2] The English merchants resided, for the most part, in Pera, a suburb of Constantinople, where was the house of the English ambassador.

our arrivall[1], my Master[2] died of the small pox, beinge in tyme of Pestilence, which Customarily visitts the Cittie once in fowre yeares, or five att the most[3]. Soe remained with Mr. Lawrence Greene[4] untill the departure of the Honourable Paule Pindar[5], being licensed by the Grand Signior, and Sir John Eyers[6] arriving to supply his place[7].

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[1] In 1618. [2] James Wyche. See p. 14.

[3] Compare Lithgow, *Painefull Peregrinations*, p. 138, "Constantinople...is subject...to divers Earth quakes...And commonly every third yeare the pestilence is exceeding great in that City." Compare also Della Valle, *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 49 f.

[4] Lawrence Greene, Senior, was a director of the Levant Company at this time, and is frequently mentioned in the Court Minutes. On the 2nd Aug., 1616, it was ordered that £30 be advanced to Mr Greene, as agent for Mr King, the Company's chaplain at Constantinople. Again, on the 3rd May, 1621, "One Mr. Greene" undertakes to make good any loss to the Company in case the chaplain, Mr Cadwallader Salisbury, should die before the £50 advanced him should be due to him. Pearson, *Chaplains of the Levant Company*, p. 47.

In 1621, Lawrence Greene and Richard James were elected members of a Committee of the East India Company. They "desired to be spared, but the Court would in no wise consent." They, however, only served for three months. Lawrence Greene died before 1634. See *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, East Indies*, 1617—1621, pp. 435, 468; 1630—1634, p. 486. The Lawrence Greene whom Mundy served for two years, and whom he left at Constantinople in 1620 (see beginning of *Relation* II.), was probably a son of the Director and identical with the Lawrence Greene, a merchant, who, in 1641, petitioned for a warrant for the transport of twenty passengers and provisions to Virginia, where he had twenty-four servants. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1574—1660, p. 322. For further particulars of this man, see *Relation* II.

[5] Sir Paul Pindar had held the office of Ambassador at Constantinople since 1611. In September, 1616, he had written to the Court of the Levant Company, desiring to be recalled on account of his health, but was urged to remain a year or two longer, with increased allowances. To this he agreed in a letter dated 21st March, 1617. For further particulars of Pindar, during his embassy, see *Appendix* D.

[6] Sir John Eyre was appointed to fill Pindar's place in 1619 and was recalled in 1621. For details of his appointment and his unpopularity, together with a short notice of the Levant Company at the time of Mundy's connection with it, see *Appendix* D.

[7] The British Museum copy of Mundy's early Travels, *Harl. MS.*, 2286, ends here, and has neither "Computation" of miles nor "Supplement" to *Relation* I.

Computation of Miles travelled in the voyages aforegoeinge as also the distances of some places, one from the other.

	Miles
From Penrin to Roane in Normandie is accompted Miles 300 and backe againe is	600
From Penrin to Bayon in Gascony is accompted Miles 480 and backe againe is . . .	960
From Penrin to London by Sea is . . .	400
From London to Cadiz miles 1450 and backe againe is	2900
From London to Mallaga miles 1590 and backe againe is	3180
From London to Sanlucar is	1430
From thence to Sevill is	60
From Sevill to Ayamonte miles 78 from thence to Tavila in Portugall is 24 miles . .	102
From Tavila backe to Sevill is	102
From Sevill backe to London is	1490
From London to Allexandretta the very bottome of the Straights is 1460 leagues and . .	4380
From Allexandretta to Constantinople is accompted 450 leagues and amounts to . .	1350
From Constantinople to Pompeus Pillar[1] att the mouth of the Black Sea is accompted Miles 20 and backe againe is	40
Summa totalis Miles	17394

Author's Supplement[2] *to Relation I.*

The aforegoinge Relation is only some Voyages etts. recalled to memorye since my first settinge forth, Anno 1608, untill my departure, Anno 1620.

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[1] See note 4 on p. 20.

[2] The "Supplement" to *Relation* I. was added by Mundy when he revised his MS. in 1649—1650. It is in his own writing and is on different paper from the rest of the *Rawlinson* copy.

Concerning Constantinople, where I remayned three or four years, I tooke no notice of any thing untill my departure thence, and what I have don since is but course and Coursary. Therefore, for the satisfaction of those that desire better Information concerning that great Citty, the Serraglio, with the Imperiall Seate of the grand Signeurs, their Habitations, lives, titles, quallities, exercises, worcks, revenues, Habit, discent, ceremonies, Wives, concubines, etts., Judgements, officers, favourites, Religion, power, governement and tyranny—let them peruse the History of the Serraglio and court of the Gran Signeur, exactly and elaborately written in french by Signeur Michael Baudier of Languedock, translated by Mr. Edward Grymestone, printed in London Anno 1635[1]. It mentions untill yong Amurath the 4th. who reigned A. 1626[2]. Among other matters thus in brief[3].

Constantinople standeth on seven hills containing in circuit about fifteen miles, Galata, etts., on the other side of the water not reckoned; two thousand Mosquees or turkish Churches; the Greek Christians have forty Churches; the Jewes thirty eight sinagogues. The francks or Italians have two Churches on the other side in Gallata. It hath seven hundred and forty publick fountaines. The Armenians have four Churches.

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[1] The full title of the book is, *The History of the Imperiall Estate of the Grand Seigneurs: Their Habitations, Lives, Titles, Qualities, Exercises, Workes, Revenues, Habit, Discent, Ceremonies, Magnificence, Judgements, Officers, Favourites, Religion, Power, Government and Tyranny.* Translated out of French by E. G., S. A. [Edward Grimston, Sergeant at Arms], London, 1635.

[2] The date of the accession of Murād or Amurath IV. is 1623.

[3] The author now proceeds to quote Grimston in his own fashion with emendations and omissions. The extracts, as they stand in the English translation of the work, will be found, at length, in *Appendix* E.

The tribut called Charay[1] levied on the Jewes at Constantinople, being one Chequeene[2] for every male child, amounts to eleven Milliones three hundred chequeene (a mistake I conceive, 11 milliones for 11 Mille, in french, 1000[3]). Every greeke here and within three miles of the Citty pay allsoe one Zequeene, amounting unto thirty eight thousand Chekeenes per annum. The description of the Citty is from p. 1 to p. 18[4].

Concerning the serraglio, weomen[5], treasure, officers, etts., it followeth from p. 18 to p. 191, the end.

Allsoe in Mr. Sands[6] there is some relation of the above mentiond, there beeing the draught or print of the Citty, allso of the serraglio apart, with others[7]. Allsoe in Mr. Blunt of the turkish moderne Condition[8], unto whome I referr you for a more elegant description of the above written.

As concerning their Religion, it is handled somwhat largely by Mr. Purchase in his pilgrimage[9].

For the severall habitts used att Constantinople, where most officers and Nationes are distinguished by their

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[1] Caratch (Arab. *kharāj*), the tribute or poll-tax levied by the Turks on their Christian subjects. Compare Dumont, *A New Voyage to the Levant*, ed. 1696, p. 281, "The Greeks...are forc'd to pay a yearly Tribute, call'd the Carache...a perpetual Poll-tax, and exceeds not four Piasters a Man."

[2] Sequin. A gold coin of Italy, the Venetian *zecchino*, worth from about seven shillings to nine shillings and sixpence English money. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Chick.

[3] The words within brackets are an interpolation by Mundy.

[4] *i.e.* of Grimston's book.

[5] The author notes here, "Weomen about 300 in the serraglio for the Gran Signior."

[6] *Travels, containing an History of the Original and present State of the Turkish Empire, Their Laws, Government, Policy, Military Force, Courts of Justice, and Commerce*, etc. etc. By George Sandys, 1st ed. 1615.

[7] On p. 24 of ed. 1673.

[8] Blount, *Voyage into the Levant*. See *Appendix* A for full title.

[9] See pp. 297—303, 306, 308—325 of ed. 1626 of *Purchas His Pilgrimage*.

habits, I have a little booke, only of that particuler, painted by the Turcks themselves in Anno 1618, although no great art therein, yet enough to satisfie concerning that Matter[1].

An Asper is about a halfe penny, for about 90, or sometimes 100 make a Ryall of eight or a Reichs Doller[2]; a chequeene worth about 8*s.* English[3]. [Signed] Penrin, 2d. February, 1649/50.

Concerning Constantinople and the Seraglio, Thomas Gainesford in his book of the Glory of England, Lib. 2, page 262, saith thus[4]:—This Imperiall place looketh with a more Mareschall[5] countenance then other Citties. Constantinople, otherwise called Stamboll, the beautifull, Hath a handsome and formall triangle of a wall. The first part reacheth from the Seven Towers to the Seraglio, some three English miles. The second from the Seraglio to Porto del Fieume, a little more, and both towards the Sea, which runneth one way into Euxinum and another way to encounter a prettie fresh River on the North of Pera. The third overlooketh the feilds of Thracia with a greater Compasse and strength, because it hath a double Wall and openeth three or four gates, as Adrianopli, Gratianopoli, the tower gate, etts., into the Country[6], the

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[1] It is a matter for regret that this "little booke" was not preserved with the author's MS.

[2] Fr. *aspre*, It. *aspero*, lit. 'white money.' A small silver Turkish coin, of which 120 are reckoned to the piastre, now only a money of account. Murray, *Oxford English Dictionary.*

[3] See note 2 on p. 26.

[4] For the complete title of Gainsford's *Glory of England* and the full and correct rendering of the passages abstracted by Mundy, see *Appendix* E.

[5] Gainsford has "majesticall."

[6] For the twenty-five gates at Constantinople, see Sanderson's *Voyage* in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. 1625, Part II. Book ix. p. 1629.

walles orderlie, beautified with square towers of hard stone whose equall distance makes a reasonable shew: the goodliest Harbour in the world, twentie fathom deepe, close to the shores of both citties, conteyning ten english miles in circumference; much Wast ground within.

The Seraglio is the pallace of the Gran Signior inclosing as much ground as St. James parcke: Large Courts: Spacious gardeins, enbattled walles, stored with Artillerie, divers manner of Structures, which indeed seeme severall pallaces, among whome there is one called a Caska[1] (or Cheeaskee[2]) without the wall of the seraglio, close to the water side, where hee accustometh to take his gallie (or Kaeeck[3]), of the delicatest and rarest presence that ever I beheld, for it is a quadrat of seven arches on a side cloisterwise, like the Rialto walk in Venice, and in the middest riseth a Core[4] of three or four Roomes with Chimneys whose mantle trees[5] are of silver, curiously glazed, protected with an Iron grate all guilt over most gloriously. The whole frame soe set with Opalls, Rubies, Emeralds, burnisht with gold, painted with flowers and graced with Inlaid worcke of porphiry, marble, Jett, Jasper and delicate stones, that I am perswaded there is not such a bird cage in the world. Under the walles are stables for sea horses, called hippopotamie, which is a monstrous beast taken in Nilus: Elephants, tigres and Dolphins: Sometimes they have Crocodiles and Rinoceros. Within are Roebucks, white partridges, and turtles, the bird of

[1] Kiosk. Turk. and Pers. *kūshk*, F. *kiosque*, a pavilion, villa, portico. Compare Sanderson's *Voyage* in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Part II. Book ix. p. 1626, "Sultan Morat [Murād, Amurath]...hath built...two faire Lodgings, or as we may say Banqueting Houses, which they call Chouskes."

[2] Mundy's interpolation.

[3] Mundy's interpolation. Caique, Turk. *ḳāīḳ*, the small skiff used at Constantinople.

[4] *i.e.* a central building.

[5] Beams across the opening of the fireplaces.

Arabia, and many beasts and foule of Aphrica and India. The walkes are shaded with Cipresse, Cedar, turpentine[1], and trees which wee only know by their names, amongst such as afford sustenance, as figgs, almonds, olive, pomegranetts, Lemmons, Orenges, and such like, but it should seeme, they are here as it were inforced, and kept in order with extraordinary dilligence: for the sunne kisseth them not with that fervency, as may make them large, or ripen in their proper kinds.

The Citty is very populous towards the Harbour. The Bisisteene[2], Bashaws houses, mosques, Conduits, tombes and monuments, are even as it were a storehouse of magnificent worckes: And when I read, that Constantine unplumed Rome, and as it were unplumed all the world, I cannot find the perticulers in my Inventory, for the Cheifest structures now are the great Seraglio, the lesser Seraglio, the Seventowres, the double wall, divers Bashaws houses, the mosques or temples, among whome the Sophia, Soliman and Amurath, are indeed heapes of Ostentation and fabriques of great delight, the Patriarchs house; certaine balneas or bathes; aquaducts; Constantines pallace; and the towres on the walles, to these you may adde the Besistene, a place like our Exchange, for varietie of merchandise, markett of Virgins, Selling of Slaves, doucts under ground fenced with Iron gates to Secure their treasure, to prevent the fury of the Janizaries, extremity of fire and earthquakes, to whose violence the Citty is many tymes Subiect.

The next division is Gallata, over against it divided only by the Sea.

The third part Pera:

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[1] *i.e.* the *pistacia terebinthus*, which yields the turpentine known as Cyprus Turpentine, Chian Turpentine and Scio Turpentine.

[2] Turk. *bazistān*, market.

The last quarter of this division is a towne in Asia called Scutaro.

Thus I confesse, if on the towers of the Amurata, or battlements of the Sophia, you beheld all at once, as one united body, it would equall, if not surpasse London, for spaciousnesse of ground, Some monuments divers pallaces and howses; but yet come no way neare my satisfaction, for here is Neither good lodging, proportionable fare, free recourse, gracious entertainement, true religion, secure abiding, allowable pleasure, Orderly government, Or any thing wherein a Noble citty is made glorious indeed: Thus much for Constantinople.

The author was there as I gather by his book in Anno 1607. Page 35 lib. 1.[1]

Of Constantinople[2] and the Serraglio, there is somewhat said in the five foregoing sides[3], being the relation of others; but for my owne observation I tooke no perticuler notice, as elce where I have said. Only I can remember, viz.

Imprimis. That once I walked alone from Cassum

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[1] This last remark is Mundy's own note.

[2] Preceding these remarks Mundy quotes extracts from Sandys' *Travels*. These he gives, for the most part, correctly, without any notes or interpolations of his own. In many cases, however, he breaks off in the middle of a sentence and gives no hint of the omission. Therefore, for the sake of clearness, the passages extracted by Mundy have been corrected from Sandys' work, and will be found, with the quotations from Grimston and Gainsford, in *Appendix* E.

Following the extracts from Sandys, is a double-page map of Turkey and Arabia, with Mundy's sea and land routes marked in red dotted lines. Some of the places are also lettered in red, and remarks under these letters are found on the reverse of the second leaf. The map bears no name or date, but contains the portrait of Sultan Muhammad III. (1596—1603). On the reverse of the first leaf are the author's own comments on Constantinople (added in February, 1650), which are now given in the text. The notes on the reverse of the second leaf of the map have no connection with the story of the author's Travels, and, consequently, have not been printed.

[3] The author alludes to his extracts from Grimston, Gainsford and Sandys. See *ante*, pp. 25—30, and *Appendix* E.

Basha[1], at the West or end of the Citty, as farre as Yedeecula or the Seven Towers[2], where I saw the double wall (that crosseth over from the Haven to the Hellespont), one within and higher then the other, and a pretty distance from each other. I conceaved them treble, accompting the Innermost wall of the ditche for one, all compleated with

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[1] The history of this suburb, situated between Constantinople and Galata, is given by Evliya Efendi, who was born in 1611, as follows:—"In the time of the infidels, Kāsim Pāshā was a monastery called Aya Longa, but Muhammad II. converted it into a Moslem burying ground....The town of Constantinople growing too narrow for the throngs of people, the great monarch Sultān Sūlaimān commanded his *vazīr*, the conqueror of Napoli (di Romania), Kāsim Pāshā,...to build the suburb called now [*circ.* 1631] Kāsim-pāshā. It is in the jurisdiction of the Maulā of Galata....There are one thousand and eighty-five walled houses with gardens." *Travels in Europe etc. in the Seventeenth Century*, by Evliya Efendi. Eng. trans. ed. 1834, vol. I. Part ii. p. 43. The description is continued up to p. 49. Compare Thévenot, *Travels into the Levant*, ed. 1687, Part i. p. 27, "Cassum-pasha, which seems to be a great Village; there by the water side is the Arsenal...from thence you come to Galata, separated from Cassumpasha only by the burying places that are betwixt them." See also Le Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, ed. 1725, vol. i. p. 171.

For a description of Constantinople in 1604, see De Bauveau, *Relation journalière du Voyage du Levant*, pp. 37—75.

[2] The Seven Towers, *Yedi Kūle*, at the S.W. angle of Constantinople. Three of the towers have disappeared, and the whole building is now in a ruinous condition. It was once a state prison.

Compare the following allusions to this building:—

1596. "A fort that is fortified with seven Towers, called by the Turkes Jadicule...where a garrison of souldiers is kept." Moryson, *Itinerary*, ed. 1617, p. 263.

1600. "Yedi Cula. The gate of the seven Toures: for so many there are together, neere thereunto, built of the Ottoman Princes, where it is said, they have in time past put their Treasure." Sanderson's *Voyage* in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Book ix. ch. 16, p. 1629.

1616. "Upon the west corner of the Citty there is a strong Fortresse, fortified with seaven great Towers, and well furnished with munition, called by Turkes Jadileke." Lithgow, *Painefull Peregrinations*, p. 135.

1701. "The Seven Towers, now a prison for persons of quality... but antiently the Porta Janicula of Constantinople." Chishull, *Travels in Turkey*, p. 48.

1810. "Although four only of the Seven Towers have remained entire...the fortress still retains the names of Efta-Coulades in the Greek and Yedi-Kouleler in the Turkish language, both of them significant of the former number of its conspicuous bulwarks." Hobhouse, *Journey through Albania*, vol. ii. pp. 938—940.

See also Sandys' description in *Appendix* E; Della Valle, *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 43; Thévenot, *Travels into the Levant*, Part i. p. 20.

battlements and towers[1]. In the said wall I saw an arche made or dambd upp. They say on this occasion:—That it was the gate by which the Citty was entred and Won from the Christains, and that there is a Prophecy among the turcks that it shall bee lost againe by the said gate[2].

Secondly: I was with others at Atmaidan, Hippodrom or Horseplace[3], to see the gran signior, Sultan Achmet,

[1] The author was right in his first surmise. The line of defence was a triple wall with a double row of towers. The walls were erected by Constantine the Great, and were partly rebuilt by Theodosius and his successors.

Compare the description by Evliya Efendi, *Travels in Europe*, vol. i. Part i. p. 11 f., who says (in 1634), "This triple row of walls still exists, and is strengthened by 1225 towers." He adds, however, that the masonry had fallen into such decay that "waggons might be anywhere driven through the walls." These ravages were repaired in 1635.

For the accounts of other travellers, see Sandys' *Travels* in *Appendix* E; Della Valle, *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 25; Thévenot, *Travels into the Levant*, Part i. p. 20; Tournefort, *Voyage into the Levant*, ed. 1718, vol. i. p. 349; Hobhouse, *Journey through Albania*, vol. ii. pp. 936—937.

[2] The Turks gained an entrance into Constantinople, in 1453, by the Wooden or Circus Gate, which had been walled up for two centuries previously, on account of an ancient prophecy, and reopened during the siege for the purposes of a sortie. It was, however, the Golden Gate that was walled up by the invaders, in consequence of a superstition that through it the future conquerors of Constantinople should enter the city. For a similar Turkish prophecy with regard to the Golden Gate at Jerusalem, see *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Book viii. ch. 8, p. 1324.

[3] *At-maidān.* Compare the description of John Sanderson in 1602, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Book ix. ch. 16, p. 1627:—"The greatest and most famous spacious place of the Citie is that which in time past of the Greeks was called Hippodromo, and now of the Turkes Atmaidan, which is as much as to say, both in the one and the other Language, running of Horses, for there they did and doe runne them. In time past it hath been much more greate, but the many Palaces (that divers great men in processe of time have built) hath lessened it."

Compare also Grimston's description, *History of the Imperiall State of the Grand Seignieurs*, p. 76:—"The Hippodrome is a great place in Constantinople, about fourscore fathome long and fortie broad, artificially built upon a great number of Pillars and Arches which support it strongly, and keepe it from drowning by the waters of the Sea, which run under it, by certaine Channels which give it entry: It was the ancient mannage and course for Horses as the word doth signifie....This place is called at this day Atmeidon, that is to say Mannage."

For other accounts of the *At-maidān*, see the extract from Sandys'

ride in pomp to one of his Mosques or Church: Where among other monuments I remember I saw three brasen serpents wreathed together[1]: allsoe another like a piramidis[2].

Travels in *Appendix* E. See also Della Valle, *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 37 f.; Thévenot, *Travels into the Levant*, Part i. p. 22; Tournefort, *Voyage into the Levant*, vol. i. p. 361; Le Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, vol. i. p. 158; Hobhouse, *Journey through Albania*, vol. ii. p. 950 f.

[1] The column of the Three Serpents, said to have formerly supported the golden tripod of the priestess of Apollo of Delphi.

Compare the following accounts of this column:—

1594. "This Piazza hath also another Pillar...of Brasse made with marvellous art in forme of three Serpents wreathed together with their mouthes upwards, which is said, was made to inchant the Serpents that on a time molested the Citie." *Voyage* of John Sanderson in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Book ix. ch. 16, p. 1627.

1615. "A bronze column composed of three Serpents of the same metal interlaced with each other, whose three heads extend beyond the summit forming, instead of a capital, a regular triangle. The tales of the old wives aver that this column was made by a Magician, and that by the enchantment with which he endowed it, the town was freed from the number of Serpents which then infested it." Della Valle, *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 38 (translated from the French).

1634. "On the wonderful Talismans within and without Kostantineh...Seventeenth talisman. A sage named Surendeh, who flourished in the days of error, under King Pūzentīn, set up a brazen image of a triple-headed dragon (*azhderhā*) in the Atmaidān, in order to destroy all serpents, lizards, scorpions, and such like poisonous reptiles: and not a poisonous beast was there in the whole of Mākedoniyyah. It has now the form of a twisted serpent, measuring ten cubits above and as many below the ground. It remained thus buried in mud and earth from the building of Sultan Ahmed's mosque, but uninjured, till Selim II., surnamed the drunken, passing by on horseback, knocked off with his mace the lower jaw of that head of the dragon which looks to the west. Serpents then made their appearance on the western side of the city, and since that time have become common in every part of it. If, moreover, the remaining heads should be destroyed, Istambol will be completely eaten up with vermin." Evliya Efendi, *Travels in Europe*, vol. I. Part i. p. 19. Tournefort, *Voyage into the Levant*, vol. i. p. 380, says that the two remaining heads were taken away in 1700.

See also Sandys' *Travels*, ed. 1673, p. 27; Thévenot, *Travels into the Levant*, ed. 1687, Part i. p. 22; Chishull, *Travels in Turkey*, p. 41; Le Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, vol. i. p. 158.

[2] The author refers to the Egyptian Pyramid set up by Constantine to mark the goal in the chariot races. Compare the description of the column by Tournefort, *Voyage into the Levant*, vol. i. p. 379: "The Obelisk of Granate or Thebaick Stone is still in the Atmeidan: it is a four-corner'd Pyramid, of one single Piece, about fifty foot high, terminating in a Point, charg'd with Hieroglyphicks, now unintelligible."

See also for other accounts, *Voyage* of John Sanderson in *Purchas*

Thirdly: I walked another tyme alone as farre as Aurat Bazar, or the market of Weomen[1], and there I saw the Historicall pillar[2].

Fourthly: I saw another High columne of marble[3]. It stoode (as I take it) towards the Haven, bound about

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His Pilgrimes, Book ix. ch. 16, p. 1627; Della Valle, *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 37; Thévenot, *Travels into the Levant*, Part i. p. 22; Dumont, *A New Voyage to the Levant*, p. 151; Le Bruyn, *Voyages au Levant*, vol. i. pp. 158—159; Chishull, *Travels in Turkey*, p. 40.

[1] Avret-bazār, about one mile west of the Hippodrome. The district is still so called.

"A large and spacious place...towards the Port of Selimbria, called by the Turkes Aurat Bazar (which is as much to say, the market place of women, for thither they come to sell their Workes and Wares)." *Voyage* of John Sanderson in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Book ix. ch. 16, p. 1629.

[2] So called from the military scenes sculptured on its base. The pedestal now only remains.

Compare the description of the Historical Column by Busbequius (Busbek) in 1555, *Travels into Turkey*, p. 49, "Constantinople doth gratifie us with the Sight of two memorable Pillars; One...in the Forum, called by the Turks, Aurat-basar, *i.e.* The Womens Court, wherein, from Bottom to Top, is engraven the History of a certain Expedition of one Arcadius, who built it, and whose Statue, for a long time, stood on the Top of it. And yet it may rather be called a Stair-case, than a Pillar, because it goes winding up like a Pair of Stairs."

Evliya Efendi in his account "of the wonderful Talismans within and without Kostantineh," *Travels in Europe*, vol. i. Part i. p. 16, gives the following interesting legend in connection with the Historical Column:—"First talisman. In the Avret-Bāzārī (female slave-market), there is a lofty column (the pillar of Arcadius) of white marble, inside of which there is a winding staircase. On the outside of it, figures of the soldiers of various nations, Hindustanies, Kurdistanies, and Multanies, whom Yānko ibn Mādiyān vanquished, were sculptured by his command; and on the summit of it there was anciently a fairy-cheeked female figure of one of the beauties of the age, which once a year gave a sound, on which many hundred thousand kinds of birds, after flying round and round the image, fell down to the earth, and being caught by the people of Rūm (Romelia), provided them with an abundant meal. Afterwards, in the age of Kostantin, the monks placed bells on the top of it, in order to give an alarm on the approach of an enemy: And subsequently, at the birth of the Prophet, there was a great earthquake, by which the statue and all the bells on the top of the pillar were thrown down topsy-turvy, and the column itself broken in pieces: but, having been formed by talismanic art, it could not be entirely destroyed, and part of it remains an extraordinary spectacle to the present day."

[3] The Burnt Column (Jemberli Tāsh).

in Severall places with Hoopes or bands of Iron[1] by reason that tyme had weakned and dissolved the very veines of it, soe that it appeared with great Crackes in sundry parts, and, but for those bands, would fall and occasion much Hurt either to men or buildings[2].

Fifthly: I was allsoe in Sancta Sophia[3] and other Turkish Mosques[4].

Sixtly: I was in the serraglio[5], within the second

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[1] The author is alluding to the copper bands covering the joints of the several pieces of porphyry of which the column is composed.

[2] Compare Busbequius, *Travels into Turkey*, p. 49, "The...Pillar, over against the House the German Ambassadors used to lodge in, the whole Structure, besides the Basis and the Chapiter, consists of eight solid Marble (*sic*) of Red Porphyry Stones, so curiously joined together, that they seem but one continued Stone. For, where the Stones are jointed one into Another, upon that Commissure, there is wrought a circular Garland of Lawrels round about the Pillar, which hides the jointing so that they which look upon it from the Ground, perceive no jointing at all. That pillar hath been so often shaken by Earthquakes, and so battered by Fires happening near it, that it is cleft in many Places, and they are forced to bind it about with Iron Hoops, that it may not fall to pieces."

Compare also the description of Evliya Efendi, *Travels in Europe*, vol. I. Part i. pp. 16, 17, "Second talisman. In the Tāūk-Bāzār (poultry-market) there is a needle-like column (the pillar of Theodosius) formed of many pieces of red emery (*sūmpāreh*) stone, and a hundred royal cubits (*zirā malikī*) high. This was damaged in the earthquake which occurred in the two nights during which the Pride of the World was called into existence; but the builders girt it round with iron hoops, as thick as a man's thigh, in forty places, so that it is still firm and standing. It was erected a hundred and forty years before the era of Iskender, and Kostantīn placed a talisman on the top of it in the form of a starling, which once a year clapped his wings, and brought all the birds in the air to the place, each with three olives in his beak and talons."

[3] Erected in A.D. 325, burnt down in 404, rebuilt in 415, again burnt in 532, once again rebuilt by Justinian in 538 and restored by him in 568. For a long and detailed description of the Mosque of St Sophia and the many marvels worked within its precincts, see Evliya Efendi, *Travels in Europe*, vol. I. Part i. pp. 55—65. See also Busbequius, *Travels into Turkey*, p. 46; Sanderson, *Voyage*, in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Book ix. ch. 16, pp. 16—26; Hobhouse, *Journey through Albania*, vol. ii. pp. 968 ff.

[4] *e.g.* the Mosques of Bajazet II. [Bāyazīd], Selīm I., Sulaimān, Ahmad, etc.

[5] *i.e.* the Palace of the Osmānli Sultāns. Evliya Efendi, in his description of the Seraglio, *Travels in Europe*, vol. I. Part i. pp. 49, 50, says, "Sultān Muhammad surrounded this strongly fortified palace

court[1], at the tyme Sir Paul Pindar was to come for England and Sir Jno. Eires was com over to supply his place of Embassador[2], when both of them went to kisse the gran signiors Hand or sleeve, the former to take his leave and the latter to bee admitted in his roome, Where the present brought by the new Embassador was laid to the open view of all men (on the greene)[3]. Then was there a turkish bankett, or meal, prepared for the attendants (on the floore)[4], with which wee had noe sooner don,

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with a wall that had 366 towers, and 12,000 battlements; its circumference being 6,500 paces, with 16 gates, great and small....There was no harem in this palace; but one was built afterwards, in the time of Sultān Sulaimān." See also the accounts by Gainsford and Sandys in *Appendix* E; and Tavernier, *Collections of Travels*, ed. 1684, vol. ii., "A new Relation of the inner part of the Grand Seignor's Seraglio," pp. 1—91.

[1] The *Arz-ōda*, Hall of Audience, erected by Muhammad II. In this enclosure all great ceremonials took place.

Tavernier, in his description referred to in the previous note, has a chapter, pp. 35—43, "Of the Hall wherein the Grand Seignor gives Audience to Forein Ambassadors, and the manner how they are receiv'd." He, however, places the Hall in the third court of the Seraglio.

[2] See p. 23, and *Appendix* D.

[3] "Dans le mesme temps que le Grand Seigneur fait les presents, on estalle ceux des Ambassadeurs." Du Loir, *Voyages*, p. 84.

[4] Compare the account of "Ambassadours entertaynment and audience in The Grand Signiors Serraglio" by Master Robert Withers in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Book ix. ch. 15, p. 1585, "When it falleth out that an Ambassadour from any great King is to kisse the Grand Signiors hand, it must be either upon a Sunday or upon a Tuesday... and then the Vizier commandeth that there be a great Divan, which is, by calling together all the Great men of the Port...who are... commanded...to go every one to his ordinary place in the second Court, and there to stand in orderly rankes...the Ambassadour...is set face to face close before the chiefe Vizier upon a stoole covered with cloth of gold; and having for a while complimented and used some pleasant discourse together, the Bashaw commandeth that the dinner bee brought....And so the Ambassadour, and the chiefe Vizier, with one or two of the other Bashawes doe eate together....They having dined, the Vizier entertayneth the Ambassadour with some discourse till such time as the Ambassadours people have also dined....And then the Ambassadour is called by the Master of the Ceremonies, by whom hee is brought to the Gate, whereat the Capi Agha [*kāpi āgha*, chief door-keeper] standeth with a ranke of Eunuches, which Capi Agha leadeth him to the doore of the Roome where there doe stand two Capoochee Bashees [*kāpiji-bāshi*, chamberlain] ready, who take the

but our attendants (turcks) fell to scambling and catchinge of what was left, that, in a manner, they tumbled one over the others Nose in a platter of Peelaw[1], perhaps!

Seventhly: I have bin in their bathes[2] and besistenes[3], Christians churches[4] and Jewish sinagogues[5]: allso in the old pallace of Constantine[6], where, among other a[nimals], I saw a terrible great lyon (somwhat tame) playing with a little dog.

Eightly: Concerning the Haven. It is soe Secure

Ambassadour, the one by one arme, and the other by the other, and so leade him to kisse his Highnesse hand."

See also Du Loir, *Voyages*, pp. 82—89.

[1] *Pīlau*. Della Valle, *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 111, gives a similar description of the behaviour of the attendants at a banquet given to the French Ambassador. See also Du Loir, *Voyages*, p. 85.

[2] For the principal baths of Constantinople, with their names, see Evliya Efendi, *Travels in Europe*, vol. I. Part i. pp. 179—181. He estimates the number of public baths in 1634 as over three hundred. See also Della Valle, *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 45, and Thévenot, *Travels into the Levant*, Part i. p. 31 f.

[3] See p. 29. Compare the *Voyage* of John Sanderson in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Book ix. ch. 16, p. 1628, "There is in the chiefest places for Traffique of the Citie, two Basistans, which are certayne Buildings four square, high, and made round at the top, in the forme of great Lodges covered, each of which have foure Gates, opening upon foure streets, round about garnished with shops stuffed with all rare and exquisite Merchandize."

[4] See p. 25. Compare the *Voyage* of John Sanderson in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Book ix. ch. 16, p. 1627, "The Patriarch of Greeks, Meleto... told me that there is in Constantinople one hundred Christian Churches, most assuredly within the citie and Suburbs; I take it there are more."

[5] See p. 25.

[6] Compare the following allusions to Constantine's Palace:

"The ruines of a Pallace upon the very wals of the City called the Pallace of Constantine, wherein I did see an Eliphant." Moryson, *Itinerary*, p. 263.

"On the first Hill is to bee seene, beginning from the West towards the Port of Andranople, a fragment standing in memory of the old Emperiall Palace with certayne Galaries, wast roomes, and pillers within it selfe, doth well shew the great power of Time, the destroyer and overthrower of all, that a Prince of the world his Palace is now become a Lodge for Elephants, Panthars, and other Beasts." Sanderson, *Voyage*, in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Book ix. ch. 16, p. 1625.

"At the third Angle, which is at the bottom of the Port, on the Land side, are the Ruines of Constantine's Palace." Thévenot, *Travels into the Levant*, Part i. p. 20

from winds and soe commodious deepe, even to the very shore, that our English shipps lay their broad sides to the Custom house key[1], which is so contrived, the outer part next the shippes much higher then the other, soe that the goods which they discharge, as balles of Cloath, barills of tynne, Spicery, etts., is with little labour conveyed in to the said Custom house, there beeing farre more imported then exported, otherwise little advantage. Venetian Argosies, or shippes, lay their Stemmes on the Dunghills on Galata side. Here are a multitude of peramees[2] or ferriboat, sundry sorts of other vessells, among the rest a Caramsall[3], built of such a forme, that I have heard Seamen say that their sternes were Neare as high as the Mayne topp of their great shipps.

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[1] Compare Moryson, *Itinerary*, p. 263, "The Haven will receive an huge number of Shippes, and upon bothe the bankes of the City and Galata, shippes of five hundred tunnes or greater, once unloaded, may so lie with their Cables fastened on the Land, as they can passe from the shippes to Land without any boates." See also Sandys' account of the Haven in *Appendix* E and Thévenot, *Voyage into the Levant*, Part i. p. 19.

[2] Transit boats, modern Greek περάμι, a passage, pass, strait, a boat.

Compare the following allusions to this kind of boat:—

1597. "I...hyred a boat called Pyrame." Moryson, *Itinerary*, p. 266.

1610. "On the other side of the Haven (continually crossed by multitudes of little Boats called Permagies, and rowed for the most part by Egyptians)." Sandys, *Travels*, p. 30.

1614. "Little boats...called Perames, sometimes with two, sometimes with four oars." Della Valle, *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 26.

1640. "On y va (de l'un à l'autre bord du port de Constantinople) par de petites nasselles qu'ils appellent Permez faites à peu prez comme sont les gondolles de Venise; mais plus legeres encore." Du Loir, *Voyages*, p. 67.

1655. "There are on both sides a great many Caiques and Permes, which will carry you over for a very small matter....Permes are little slight Boats or Wherries, and so ticklish, that by leaning more to one side than another, it is an easie matter to overset them." Thévenot, *Travels into the Levant*, Part i. p. 27.

1810. "Peramidias, or small wherries, which ply upon the canal." Hobhouse, *Journey through Albania*, vol. ii. p. 955.

[3] Caramoussal, carmousal, Turk. *qaramusal*, a kind of ship; It. *caramussale*, a Turkish merchantman, a Turkish ship with a very high poop. See Murray, *Oxford English Dictionary*, *s.v.* Caramoussal.

Ninthly: I was at Tophana[1], or place of Artillery, where I saw a multitude of Ordnance lying on the ground, amon[g] the rest one with three bores, and another whose bore was twelve of my spannes, within which I have computed is Near thirty inches, or two and a half feet Diameter[2].

Tenthly and lastly: There hapned at my beeing thear three terrible accidents: a Small earthquake[3], a fearfull fire[4] which by report consumed about four thousand

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[1] *i.e.* the *Tōp-khāna*. Evliya Efendi, *Travels in Europe*, vol. i. Part ii. pp. 54—62, has a long description of the *Tōp-khāna* and of the suburb to which it gave its name. Of the foundation, he says as follows, p. 54, "Tōp-khānah, in the time of the Infidels, was a convent situated in the middle of a forest: this is the mosque called the mosque of Jehāngīr: as it was dedicated to Saint Alexander, the Infidels visit it once every year on the feast of this Saint....Thus the foundation of Tōp-khānah is carried back to Alexander[?]. Muhammad II. built here the gunfoundery and Bāyazīd II. enlarged it, and added the barracks."

Compare Thévenot, *Voyage into the Levant*, Part i. p. 27, "Tophana lies upon the Rivers side over against the Serraglio: It is called Tophana, that is to say, the House of Cannon, because it is the place where Guns and other Pieces of Artillery are cast, and that gives the name to all that Quarter, which is a kind of little Town." See also Della Valle, *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 26.

[2] "In the yeare 1605...a French gentleman presumed to tell [count] the artillery and canons before the Topinaw as they lay by the sea shore." Gainsford, *Glory of England*, p. 197.

[3] Compare Thévenot, *Voyage into the Levant*, Part i. p. 19, "This town (Constantinople) is so subject to Earthquakes, that I have felt two in one night." See also note 4.

[4] Compare the following allusions to the prevalence of fires at Constantinople in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries:—

"The Citie of Constantinople in time past had eleven gates....But the continuall fires, the many Earthquakes...overthrew the famous Ancient wall." Sanderson, *Voyage*, in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Book ix. ch. 16, p. 1628 f.

"In Constantinople there have happened many fearefull fires...and now lately in the yeare 1607, October 14, there were burned above three thousand houses." Lithgow, *Painefull Peregrinations*, p. 138.

Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, p. 289, mentions an extensive fire at Constantinople in 1606, and, on p. 295, he alludes to the portents at the end of the reign of Sultan Ahmad, "First they were astonished at a blazing Comet, secondly they were affrighted at a great fire hapning amongst the Jewes, which they presaged ominous, Thirdly a sore Earth quake made their hearts quake for feare. The Sea also swelled extraordinarily. And a great dearth hapned."

Thévenot, *Voyage into the Levant*, Part i. p. 26, remarks, "As to

houses, beeing Most small shoppes or boothes of boards; and a Mortell plague of pestilence[1], which at the highest consumed above one thousand a day in that Citty[2]: from which evills and all others, good Lord deliver us. Amen[3].

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the Houses of Constantinople, they are very ordinary, and almost all of Wood, which is the cause that when Fires happen, as they do very often, they make great havock amongst them, especially if a wind blow: there were three Fires in Constantinople in the space of eight months that I sojourned there; the first...burnt down eight thousand Houses....In the time of Sultan Amurat, such a fire raged there for three days, as ruined one half of the Town."

[1] See Moryson, *Itinerary*, p. 265, and Della Valle, *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 49 f.

Compare Du Loir, *Voyages*, p. 34, "Cette ville (Constantinople) est tellement affligée de la peste qu'il arrive quelque fois que par une seule porte on enleve plus de mille personnes mortes en un seul jour."

[2] Evliya Efendi regarded the heavy loss of life from plague, fire or earthquake with great equanimity. He casually remarks, *Travels in Europe*, vol. I. Part i. p. 23, "Istambol is so vast a city that if a thousand die in it, the want of them is not felt in such an ocean of men."

[3] This concludes the Author's *Supplement* to *Relation* I.

MUNDY'S ROUTE IN TURKEY

English Miles
0 50 100

Compiled for the Hakluyt Society

RELATION II.

A Journey overland from Constantinople to London, begun the 6th. May anno 1620[1].

THE Honourable Paule Pindar, Ambassador from the Kinge of Greate Brittaine unto the Gran Signior, haveinge bene resident there eight yeares and eight monethes[2], began his Journey for England the day abovesaid in the morninge, haveinge taken his leave of Sir John Eyres[3] (lately come over to remaine in his place), departed from his howse att Pera by Constantinople[4], there going with him for England these persons followinge vizt., Mr. Paule Pindar (Cousin to my Lord)[5], Mr. Cary Davis[6], Mr. Anthony Wilson[7], Mr. Richard Castleman[8], Mr. Farnam Beamond[6],

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[1] The title of *Relation* II. in the British Museum copy, *Harl. MS.*, 2286, is:—"A Journey overland from Constantinople to London in companie with the Honourable Paul Pindar, Ambassador from the Kinge of Great Brittaine unto the Gran Seignior, haveinge bene resident there eight yeares and eight Monethes, begunn his Journey for England the 6th. of May Anno 1620."

[2] From 1611 to 1619, see *Appendix* D.

[3] Sir John Eyre was appointed in 1619, arrived in 1620, was recalled in 1621, and was succeeded by Sir Thomas Roe in 1622, Mr John Chapman acting in the interval.

[4] See note 2 on p. 22.

[5] Paul Pindar Junior was admitted to the freedom of the Levant Company on the 1st July, 1619. *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 148, p. 31.

[6] I have not succeeded in finding any extraneous reference to these individuals.

[7] Anthony Wilson was admitted to the freedom of the Levant Company on the 5th February, 1620. *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 148, p. 47.

[8] Admitted to the freedom of the Company 24th November, 1620. *State Papers,* [illegible] *chives*, vol. 148, p. 45.

Mr. Lawrence Spike[1], Mr. Richard Lane[2] and Mr. Robert Withers[3] (attendants), Mr. Seale[4], Signor Coprian[5], Signor Dominico (Druggarman[6]), Henry Faro (taylour), John

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[1] In March 1628, Lawrence Spike was recommended by Sir Allen Apsley as a purser for the *Mary Rose* or any other ship. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1628—1629, p. 46.

[2] In February, 1628, a warrant was issued for Letters of Marque to the *Samaritan* of Dartmouth, owners, Richard Lane and others. In 1631 Richard Lane refused to pay a bill drawn on him for merchandize supplied to his son, John Lane, on the plea that the Creditor, Adrian Payes, was an "alien enemy." The case was referred to Sir John Wolstanholme, etc., in February, 1632, and quashed. See *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, under dates, 7th February, 1628, 30th December, 1631, and 14th February, 1632.

[3] I have not succeeded in finding any extraneous reference to these individuals.

[4] A Humphrey Seale was "Beadle" to the Levant Company 1615—1619. (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, vol. 147, pp. 154, 161 a, 172 a.) He may have been the father of Mundy's companion.

[5] *i.e.* Dragoman, Turkish *terjumān*, interpreter. He was taken ill when the party arrived at Paris, in September, 1620, and was left behind under the care of Vincentio. In *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 148, pp. 45 a and 52, there are the following references to Dominico after his return to England:—"Sir Paule Pindar...recommended unto the Company the honesty, ability and good service of Signior Dominico A Greeke who was his drichman there, desiringe that the Company would add some tytle of reputation unto him for his good service passed, and that they would againe entertaine him and recomend him to the present Ambassador to serve him as one of his Secretaries being a verie fitt man for the discharge of that place. Whereupon the Court approvinge of the motion have chosen the sayd Signior Dominico for one of the Secretaries of Mr. John Eyres so as it be with his likinge and good approbation, And upon such terme as Mr. Deputie, Mr. Raph Freeman, Morris Abbott, Henry Garway, Anthony Abdy and the Husband [steward, paymaster] shall sitt downe and agree uppon, which with the Companyes pleasure Mr. Governor acquainted the sayd Signior Dominico; he verie thankfully accepted of their favor and respect towards him which he will alwais indeavour to preserve." In spite of this excellent testimonial, Dominico did not get the post. "Whereas Signior Dominico was formerly entertayned at a Generall Court the 18th. of October last upon the recommendation of Sir Paule Pindar Knight, to assist Sir John Eyre the now Ambassader at Constantinople in his affaires for the Company as his Secretary, and an agreement made with him for 400 dollers Per Annum to beginn at Christmas last, yet with this reservation, that if Sir John Eyre should not agree thereunto nor accept of the said Signior Dominico in that place upon notice thereof given unto him from the Company, that then the said Election and agreement should be wholly voyde. Forasmuch as the letters read at this Courte from the Ambassador do intymate that he will not accept of the said

Clearke, Emanuell ([a] Greeke), Robbin the Cooke, Rice Davis a Welshman, John Deems and Vincento Castello (Greekes), John Cunny, William Pennington, Thomas Humes (a Scottishman), Edward the footeman (an Irishman), Teodoro (a Muscovite or Russe), and my selfe, Peter Mundy. In all 25 persons with my Lord. Likewise six Frenchmen went in our Companie; these came over with the newe Frenche Ambassador[1], and were now returning for their Countrie. Moreover, twenty-one Janissaries[2] for our safe Convoy, two Sices or horsekeepers[3], one Armenian and a Muratt[4] to dresse victualls, and

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Dominico as Secretary, and that ther is not any occasion of Imployment for him as Truchman, or otherwise; but adviseth the Company to ease themselves of that charge, Sir Paule Pinder being then present in Court did take notice thereof, and after some debate too and fro aboute the said busines, did in the behalf of Signior Dominico acknowledge the Companies favour towards him; and freely discharged the Company from the said Ellection and Agreement which was accordingly accepted of by the Court, and the said Signior Dominico leaft at his owne libertie, and dispose to imploy himself as hee best thought fitting."

[1] The French Ambassador at this time was Monsieur de Césy (*vide* Des Hayes, *Voiage de Levant*, p. 88, quoted in *Appendix* F). De Césy succeeded the unfortunate Baron de Sancy, who was Ambassador from 1611 to 1617, in which latter year he was insulted and imprisoned in the "Seven Towers" by Mustafa I. De Sancy was recalled in 1618, and Osmān, Mustafa's successor, made his peace with the French king. See Knolles, *Historie of the Turkes*, p. 1378.

[2] The Janissaries (*Yēngi cheri*, new soldiery) were established by Amurath (Murād) I. in 1362. The organization was composed mainly of tributary children of Christians. It was finally abolished in 1826. The composition, rise and history of the Turkish Janissaries are curiously allied to that of the Cheylas employed about the Muhammadan Courts of India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. *Vide Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxv. pp. 199 ff. and 228 ff.

Compare Gainsford, *Glory of England*, p. 201, "The degrees of the Turks. The second degree is of Janizaries...the principall beame of the whole Empires frame, For from their suffrages and obedience the Gran Signeur is confirmed."

See also Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, p. 291.

[3] Syce (from Ar. *sāīs*), a groom, horse-keeper.

[4] There appears to be a copyist's error here and the passage should apparently run, "one Armenian named Muratt," Murāt (Ar. for Murād) being a common Armenian surname Later on in this *Relation* we learn that "this Murratt" was otherwise named "Taddue" (see p. 48) and "Taddux": so that we may assume that the author is

Stamo the Greeke, my Lord haveinge hired twelve waggons as farr as Belgrade for the stuffe. Himselfe with the Gentlemen and Marchants were well mounted, the Attendants, servants, etts., road in the waggons. The Frenchmen had thirty-one Carts of theire owne, which carryed themselves and their Lumberment.

All the Marchants of Gallata brought his Lordshipp on the way, vizt., Mr. Edward Stringar[1], Mr. Moody[2], Mr. William Woodhouse[3], Mr. Hunt[2], Mr. Hamond Gibbons[2]. Theis five tooke theire leaves att the fresh Rivers[4], which is about two miles from Pera. Mr. Wilson[5] and Mr. Beamond returned back with them about some businesse. Mr. Laurence Greene[6], Mr. Bartholomew

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speaking of an Armenian who was named Thaddeus Murat. When the party arrived at Belgrade, "this Murratt" was permitted to return to Constantinople with a Bulgarian woman, whom he had chosen as a wife for his brother, a shoemaker in the Turkish capital.

[1] Edward Stringer was treasurer to the Levant Company at Constantinople. *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 148, p. 9 a.

[2] I have been unable to find any further mention of these individuals.

[3] William Woodhouse was admitted to the freedom of the Levant Company on the 14th June, 1621. *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 148, p. 56 a.

[4] In a map of 1690 (B.M. 43335. 3) Aqua dulce is marked. Compare Clarke, *Travels*, vol. iv. p. 521 f., "We embarked at Galata... we came to the confluence of two small rivers, the Cydaris and the Barbyses, abounding with innumerable fishes, and giving to this part of the bay the name of Sweet or Fresh Waters."

[5] See note 7 on p. 41.

[6] See note 4 on p. 23. The following extracts from the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, appear to refer to the Lawrence Greene with whom Mundy was connected:—

? 1621 (vol. 42, No. 67). "The King to [the Levant Company], We request that Lawrence Greene, late consul at Smyrna, between whom and you a difference exists about his salary, may have a fair and ample allowance for his services and expenses during his employment."

1621 (vol. 42, No. 68). "The King to Sir Thomas Rowe and Sir Paul Pindar. We recommend the case of Greene, late consul at Smyrna, referred to you by the Council, to your favourable report."

28 January, 1634. "The King to the Governor and Company of Merchants trading to the Levant. Recommends John Freeman for

Abbott[1], Mr. Abell Guilliams[2], Mr. Francis Lowe[3], Mr. John Smith[2], Mr. Edward Wyche[4], Mr. Robert Salter[5]. Theis seven rode on with my Lord, and that eveninge wee came to a Towne standinge on the sea syde[6] (Ponto Piccolo, 15 miles[7]). Wee lodged that night in a good

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consul of Scio and Smyrna in place of Lawrence Greene whom they have removed."

6 December, 1636. Petition of Lawrence Greene to the King. "On the death of William Salter, he was appointed Consul at Smyrna, by his Majesty's Ambassador with the Turkish Emperor, afterwards confirmed by the Company of English Merchants trading in those parts. Having done them many services these five years, he has received no allowance for his pains, as his predecessors have done, whereupon he has made stay of some of their goods. For staying of which goods the said merchants now at his return labour to arrest petitioner (in this dangerous time) and restrain him from attending His Majesty or the Secretaries of State as he ought. Prays letter of protection."

From the above, Lawrence Greene seems to have held the post of Consul at Smyrna under the Levant Company prior to 1621, and again, for five years previous to 1634.

[1] See note 1 on p. 15.

[2] I have found no further reference to these individuals.

[3] This may be the Francis Lowe who is referred to in September 1626 (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1625—1626, p. 421) as follows:—"Sir Alexander Brett to Nicholas. Certifies sufficiency of Francis Lowe who was in the action at Algiers, and with Sir Walter Raleigh under the command of Captain Pennington."

[4] For an account of Edward Wyche, and Mundy's relations with the Wyche family, see *Appendix* B.

[5] Robert Salter, who was probably connected with William Salter, Consul at Smyrna (see above, p. 44, note 6), was made free of the Levant Company in June, 1619; *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 148, p. 30a. In August, 1629, a warrant was issued to a Robert Salter for letters of marque as owner and Captain of the *Margaret* of Weymouth; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1629—1631, p. 155.

[6] Pindar's train travelled by the old post road from Constantinople to Belgrade, a route now almost exactly followed by the railway. It was the road taken by Des Hayes in 1621, Blount in 1634, Poullet in 1657—1658, Covel in 1670, Pococke in 1740, and Clarke in 1802. The three former covered the same ground as did Mundy from Constantinople to Belgrade, though in the contrary direction, and the two latter, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, made their way to Adrianople by the same stages that the author followed in 1620. The Journey of Des Hayes, happening almost contemporaneously with Mundy's "Journey Overland" is given at length in *Appendix* F.

[7] The names and mileage in brackets throughout this *Relation* refer to the author's own marginal notes.

stone Cane[1]. Heere is a longe stone bridge which goeth over a Creeke of the Sea[2].

The 7th. May, 1620. Mr. Smith and Mr. Davis returned to Constantinople, Mr. Davis beinge to come after my Lord[3]. From Ponto Piccolo wee came to Ponto grande (8 miles), another Towne on the Sea side, with a faire Stone bridge alsoe[4]. Heere my Lord pitched his Tent the first tyme in a faire Greene neere the Towne, And this night hee gave order for a watch to bee kept by two and two howres each couple all the nighte.

The 8th. May, 1620. This Morninge the seaven afore-

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[1] *Khān*, caravan-serai, posting inn.

[2] "Ponto Piccolo" is the modern Kūchuk Chekméjé. Des Hayes (see *Appendix* F) has Petit pont; a map of 1690 (B.M. 43335. 3) has Cochion Check Mege; and a map of 1744 (B.M. 28195. 22) has Pons min.

Compare Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 203, "Kutchukmege, qui veut dire un petit (pont), suivy d'un autre gros bourg, qui n'a point d'autre appellation, ou les Ambassadeurs qui vont a la Porte demeurent, pour y attendre les ordres du Grand Seigneur, et estre conduits a l'Audiance."

Compare also Pococke, *A Description of the East*, Book the third, ch. iii. (Pinkerton's *Voyages*, vol. x. p. 732 f.), "The road (from Constantinople to Adrianople)...is to the south west, through an open fertile country, which is uneven as far as Selivree....Five miles from Constantinople there is a small town called The Little Bridge, from a bridge there near the sea, over the outlet of a lake.

See Covel, *Early Voyages in the Levant*, p. 174 and Clarke, *Travels*, vol. iv. p. 477.

[3] It is not clear when he re-joined the Ambassador and the rest of the company. The next mention of him in this *Relation* is when the party reached Paris.

[4] The modern Bìyuk Chekméjé. Des Hayes (see *Appendix* F) has grand Pont, and a map of 1744 (B.M. 28195. 22) has Pons maj.

Compare Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 203, "Bouioukmege est le nom d'un grand pont, sur lequel on traverse un marais causé par un dégorgement de la mer, pour passer a un bourg nommé de mesme."

Compare also Clarke, *Travels*, vol. iv. p. 477, "Buyuk Tchekmadji, signifying the Great Bridge, has a series of four stone bridges raised upon arches: over which, and along the old paved way, we passed by a lake to the town."

See Covel, *Early Voyages in the Levant*, p. 176. See also Pococke, *A Description of the East*, Book the third, ch. iii. p. 732, in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, vol. x.

mentioned[1] tooke theire leave of my Lord and Gentlemen, and returned to Constantinople. Wee likewise departed from Ponto grande. Passinge by Camburgas (6 miles)[2], wee came to Selibrea (11 miles)[3], a Seatowne, neere which wee pitched for that Night.

The 9th. May, 1620. Wee came to Choorloo (20 miles)[4],

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[1] *i.e.* Messrs Greene, Abbott, Gwilliams, Lowe, Smith, Wyche, and Salter. They were all probably "Turkey Merchants," residing at Pera. See note 3 on p. 15.

[2] The modern Kumburgas. Compare Covel, *Early Voyages in the Levant*, p. 179, "About half way to Selibria we go by a little ruinated town, just in the very sea, the road lying upon the sand; the town stands to the right hand, in Turkish Koomburgas, or sand-burough...there hath been formerly a little castle or fort there." Poullet calls the place Congerba:—"Une personne de consideration ...nous protegea de sa compagnie, et nous conduisit jusqu'à Congerba." *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 203. In a map of 1822 (B.M., *S.* 205) it appears as Coumbourgaz or Couzomion.

Compare also Pococke, *A Description of the East* (Pinkerton's *Voyages*, vol. x. p. 732), "Ten miles further [beyond the 'Great Bridge'] is a village on the sea called Camourgat."

[3] The modern Silivri. Compare the stages in "The Journey of Edward Barton, Esquire, her Majesties Ambassador with the Grand Signior....Written by Sir Thomas Glover, etc." in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Book viii. ch. 9, p. 1355 f. (Barton made the journey from Constantinople to Belgrade in 1596 and followed Mundy's route to Selibria), "The second day of July, 1596, the said Ambassador parted his house (which is in the Vines of Pera) and took his journey...unto a place called Aquadulce [the Fresh Rivers]...we... came to Ponte Piccolo...some fifteene miles distant from Aquadulce... parted thence...arrived at Ponte Grande, which is about twelve miles distant...we parted Ponte Grande, and by Sun-rising wee came to a small village called Combergassi...parted thence, and came to a Towne, called Celebria...some ten miles distant from our last Lodging."

Compare also Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 203, "Les restes d'une petite Ville, appelée Celivrée, qui a son Port comblé et posté en un lieu fort avantageux."

See Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant*, ed. 1638, p. 23, for "Burgaz, Churlo" and "Selibree." The passage is quoted in *Appendix* A.

See also Covel, *Early Voyages in the Levant*, p. 179 f., and Pococke, *A Description of the East* (Pinkerton's *Voyages*, vol. x. p. 732).

Clarke, *Travels*, vol. iv. p. 540, remarks, "From Büyük Tchekmadjè to Selivria was like travelling over the steppes of Russia," and, p. 542, "Selivria...is surrounded by vineyards....The harbour is good."

[4] The modern Chorlu. See Covel, *Early Voyages in the Levant*, p. 180 f., and Bargrave's account, quoted at the end of *Appendix* F.

Compare Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 201 f., "Chiourlik, au dessus duquel on voit quelques vieilles vestiges d'une

where Mr. Beamond, Mr. Wilson[1] and Taddue overtooke us.

The 10th. May, 1620. Passinge by Caristran (15 miles)[2], Wee came to a Towne named Bergasse (15 miles)[3], haveinge a prettie fresh water River with a Stone Bridge by which wee pitched.

The 11th. May, 1620. Wee past by Babaeskeesee[4], and

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ancienne muraille, et d'un Canal que les derniers Empereurs Chrestiens avoient commencé à faire creuser pour laisser dégorger la mer de Marmora dans le Pont-Euxin, et se couvrir des irruptions des Barbares." Des Hayes (see *Appendix* F) calls the place Chiourli. A map of 1690 (B.M. 43335. 3) has Ziorli Chiourlik, and a map of 1744 (B.M. 28195. 22) has Tschurlik-Tzurlum.

See also Clarke, *Travels*, vol. iv. p. 543, and Pococke, *A Description of the East* in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, vol. x. p. 732.

[1] They left the party at the "Fresh Rivers." See p. 44.

[2] The modern Karistran. See Covel, *Early Voyages in the Levant*, p. 183. He gives the distance as 17 miles from Chorlu.

Compare Clarke, *Travels*, p. 544, "At six hours' distance from Tchorlu, we turned a little out of the road to the village of Caristrania."

[3] The modern Lule-Burgas: called also Chatal-Burgas. See Blount, ed. 1638, p. 23, quoted in *Appendix* A. See also *Appendix* F (last part) for an extract from *Rawl. MS.*, C. 799, giving the Diary of Robt. Bargrave in his journey from Constantinople to Burgas, in 1652.

Compare Pococke's account, *A Description of the East* (Pinkerton's *Voyages*, vol. x. p. 732), "We went...to a town called Borgas, which from the name, as well as situation, seems to be the antient Bergulas." (A map of 1744 (B.M. 28195. 22) has Bergulae Arcadia.)

Compare also Hobhouse, *Journey through Albania*, vol. ii. p. 871, "The forests of Belgrade commence about ten miles from Pera, extending in length from the village of Bourgas towards the shores of the Black Sea....At Bourgas is a portion of the aqueduct built originally by Theodosius or Valens and Valentinian...and totally reconstructed by Solyman the Magnificent."

[4] Now usually Eski Baba, though in Kiepert's map of the Turkish Empire (1855) it appears as Baba Eskisi. See Covel, *Early Voyages in the Levant*, p. 185 f.

Compare Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 201, "La route [Adrianople to Constantinople] est toute ennuyeuse, unie, et sans beaucoup d'arbres. Le seul avantage qu'il y a, est la commodité des Caravan-serails, qui sont les plus beaux qu'il y ait dans le Levant...de Constantinople a Andrinople...on rencontre quelques bourgs, dont les premiers sont moins peuplez que les derniers: à scavoir Absa, Babaesqui, Burgase, composé seulement d'un fort petit

came to another Towne called Hafsha (15 miles)[1], haveinge also a fresh river with a stone bridge by which wee rested.

The 12th. May, 1620. Wee Came to, and past through the Cittie of Adrianople (15 miles)[2] where, on the other side of it, in a very faire learge Greene just before the Grand Sigrs. pallace, wee pitched; but there succeeded such a terrible shower of rayne with thunder and lightninge, that wee were forced to seeke a better harbour, which was profered us[3], beinge a greate howse to lodge the Gran Signiors trayne and horses, when he cometh thither, which is very seldome. Heere is also a fresh water River and a bridge.

The 13th. May, 1620. My Lord went to see the Gran Signiors howse with the Gentlemen and most of his Attendants, to describe which would require a greate deale of tyme; only you may suppose it was very stately, curious and costly, haveinge many faire greate gardens, with howses of service covered with Lead, vizt. kitchins, Bathes, etts. all environed with a faire bricke Wall, beinge to receive the Gran Signior att his arrivall heere, which is very seldome, as a forementioned[4].

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nombre de maisons, et qui n'est considerable qu'à cause du Caravanserail qu'on y a eslevé, le plus achevé de toute la Turquie."

See Pococke, *A Description of the East* (Pinkerton's *Voyages*, vol. x. p. 733).

[1] The modern Khafsa, or Hafsa. See Covel, *Early Voyages in the Levant*, p. 187. See previous note for Poullet's spelling of the place. Des Hayes (*Appendix* F) calls it Absa; a map of 1690 (B.M. 43335. 3) has Apsa; a map of 1744 (B.M. 28195. 22) has Hapsala; and Pococke has Hapfa.

[2] Here the author has a marginal note, "Vid: Fol: 1." This refers to Blount's remarks on Adrianople, extracted from his *Voyage into the Levant*. The passage will be found in *Appendix* A.

[3] Pindar and his train were more fortunate in their lodging at Adrianople than were Sir John Finch and Sir Thos. Barnes when they made the same journey in 1675 as described by Covel, *Early Voyages in the Levant*, p. 190, "The house we first were allotted was the damn'dest, confounded place that ever mortall man was put into; it was a Jewes house not half big enough to hold half my Lord's family, a mere nest of fleas and cimici [bugs], and rats and mice, and stench, surrounded with whole kennells of nasty, beastly Jewes."

[4] Compare the following travellers' descriptions of Adrianople and the "Gran Signior's" Seraglio:—"There yet remain the walls of the

The 14th. May, 1620. About Noone wee departed Adrianople, leaveinge Stamo the Greeke behinde[1], whoe was to goe to Gasparo Gratiano[2], that was once my Lords

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old town, which now contain the fourth and worst part, inhabited by Zinganes [Gipsies], Christians, Jews, and others esteemed as refuse people: a little without the city northward, stands the Grand Seignior's seraglio with a park walled, some three miles in compass: the palace is very low, all covered with lead rising up for [?from] a flat, into a sharp round, and seems but like a garden-house for pleasure: it is kept by his Agemoglans [*'ajemī-oghlān*, lit. foreign-boy, an oriental foreigner newly admitted to the Sultan's service], to entertain not only the Grand Seignior, but in his absence, any bashaw or other principal minister." Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant*, p. 23. (Blount was fifty-two days in travelling from Spalato to Constantinople. Mundy took forty-six days to do the journey in the opposite direction.) "Adrianople is very delightfully situated, in a beautiful plain, watered by three rivers; the shops, which are well built and furnished, and the Kanes are within the city walls, but most of the people live on the height over the old city....This is one of the four royal cities in which the Grand Signiors have made their residence; the seraglio is to the west of the town...it is built on a fine plain spot, and there is a large meadow towards the river planted with trees; besides the principal building for the Grand Signior, which did not seem to be very large, there are many little houses in the gardens for the ladies, and in other parts for the great officers; and as they are low, it has the appearance of a Carthusian cloyster....On the hill to the west of the seraglio there is a large summer-house which belongs to the Grand Signior, from which there is a fine prospect of the City, and all the country round." Pococke, *A Description of the East*, in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, vol. x. p. 733 f.

See also Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. pp. 195—200; and the account in *Appendix* F.

[1] See p. 44.

[2] "Gasparo Gratiano, a Druggerman," Author's *Index*. Caspar Gratiani was a notable character of the time. He was first employed as interpreter to Sir Thomas Glover, Pindar's predecessor at Constantinople, and was instrumental in obtaining the release of Sir Thomas Shirley, who had been imprisoned by the Turks. Later, Gratiani entered the service of the Grand Signior. In 1614 he was sent on an embassy to the Emperor Matthias. As a reward for his success in the negotiations, he obtained the government of Moldavia. See Knolles, *Historie of the Turkes*, p. 1385, and Von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. viii. pp. 201 and 246. Compare the following contemporary references to Gratiani:

"Gasparo Gratiano a man for speciall uses entertained amongst the English, whose brother and sister were both taken and admitted amongst the Turkes, being formerly Christains of Transilvania or Austria." Gainsford, *Glory of England*, p. 192.

"At Vienne in Austria...I found a Turkish Ambassadour, going downe the Champion Danubis of Europe, for Constantinople; and with him one Gratianus, a Greeke his Interpreter, to whose familiar love I was much obliged and with whom I imbarked downe the River to Presburge." Lithgow, *Painefull Peregrinations*, p. 412.

Drogaman or Interpreter, but now Prince of Bugdamia[1], and attained to that dignity thus:—There beinge warrs betweene the Emperor of Germany and the Turke, this Gasparo was sent by the Gran Signior by reason of the quicknesse of his witt and tongue to treate of a peace betweene them, where hee soe dilligently behaved himselfe that it was concluded betwene the twoe Monarches, And att his returne, for his good service therein performed, hee was made Duke of an Iland called Naxia[2]; afterwards for his good Goverment therein shewed, hee was created Prince of Bugdania[3].

From Adrianople wee came to Mustapha Pasha Cupreesee (15 miles)[4], as much to say as the bridge of

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[1] The term Bugdamia or Bugdania appears to have been used in two senses: firstly, for some portion of the modern Bessarabia, then a part of Moldavia; and, secondly, for the old province of Moldavia itself.

Compare Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, p. 294 f., "The Janizaries...cried out...why should they not march to...the foraging of the Countries of Moldavia and Bogdonia....The King of Poland...encamped in the fields of Bogdonia."

Gainsford, *Glory of England*, p. 183, alludes to "the inhabitants of Bogdonia and the borders of Russia" and, on p. 192, he remarks on the "Provinces of Bogdonia and Moldavia at strife."

[2] Naxia or Naxos, in the Greek Archipelago.

[3] "It was afterwards reported that standinge out in Rebellion against the Turke hee was by them Slaine." Author's marginal note. The downfall of Caspar Gratiani, when Voïvode of Moldavia occurred soon after Mundy left Constantinople. He was deposed on the discovery of his intrigues with Sigismund III., the ruler of Poland. Gratiani called upon the Poles for assistance. They sent him a force of 50,000 men, 10,000 of whom were slain at a battle fought near Jassy, in Moldavia, on the 20th September, 1620. Gratiani himself perished in the retreat across the Dniester with the remnant of the army. See Von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. viii. pp. 256—260. Knolles, *Historie of the Turkes*, p. 1385 f., gives a different version of Gratiani's deposition and says that he escaped alive after the battle.

[4] This place is still known as Mustafa Pasha, or Jezar Mustafa Pasha, or Mustafa Pasha Kuprusu. A map of 1744 (B.M. 28195. 22) has Mustapha Bassa Cuprisy Pons!

Compare Busbequius, *Travels into Turkey*, p. 31, "We passed over the Hebrus on a famous Bridge, made by Mustapha, and so came to Hadrianople."

Compare also Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 189,

Must Pasha. Of this bridge it is thus reported for certaine, That Sultan Soliman the Magnificent haveing warrs with Hungary[1], att his Comeinge this way, saw the bridge, and demaundinge whoe caused it to be built, the afore named M.P.[2] presented himselfe, sayeing hee did it. The Kinge then prayed him to bestowe it on him, whereunto hee replyed that, in regard hee had built it for the good of his soule, it could not be given away. The Kinge, beinge discontented with this answere, would not passe over the Bridge att all, but sought a foorde a little above the said Bridge with his horses and followers; wherein, passinge over, there was drowned two of his owne Pages among the rest. Soe that it is a Custome to this day, when any Vizer or Basha hath occasion to passe this way on warfare, hee goeth not over the Bridge, but where the Kinge did passe. The rest of the Armie goe over the Bridge.

The 15th. May, 1620. From the place a foresaid[3] wee came to this Towne (Armanly, 15 miles)[4] and pitched hard by a good Cane. These Canes[5] beinge certain great

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"Au sortir de Philiba nous rencontrâmes quatre ou cinq villages, qui n'avoient rien de plus celebre que les antiquailles de leurs ruines; comme Apapa likioi, Cayli kioi ou Zovigiova, Hermanli, Mustafa-pacha Cupressi, Tekyeh; où je vis d'assez beaux Caravanserails."

See Des Hayes' description of "Mustapha Bascha" in *Appendix* F.

[1] Sulaimān the Magnificent besieged and took Czabaoz and Belgrade in 1521. In 1526, and again in 1531, he led victorious armies into Hungary.

[2] *i.e.* Mustafa Pasha.

[3] *i.e.* the town of Mustafa Pasha.

[4] Hermanli, or Chirmenli. See note 4 on pp. 51, 52. See also the account of Hermanli by Des Hayes in *Appendix* F. The *Khān* seems to be still in existence.

[5] See note 1 on p. 46.

Compare Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 68, "Je me rendis au Han, qui estoit justement fait comme une grange...en Turquie ils sont tous pareils a celui-ci."

For various accounts of the Khāns in Turkey, from 1620 up to 1810, see Busbequius, *Travels into Turkey*, pp. 21—24; Du Loir, *Voyages*, p. 190; Covel, *Early Voyages in the Levant*, p. 174; Thévenot, *Travels into the Levant*, Part i. p. 26; Dumont, *A New*

edifices built by Kings and greate Men for the accommodation of soldiers and Travellers, most commonly att easie Journies ends; because there bee noe Inns in the Turkes Dominions. These places beinge very necessarye for horse and man, and soe large that one of them will conteyne eighty or one hundred Horse with their Riders. Only if you have noe servants, you must buy your provision and dresse it your selfe in the said Canes, where are Chimnies for the purpose. These Canes are of the fairest buildings in theis parts, of Hewen stone, and Covered with Lead for the most part; as likewise the Mosches or Churches (which are cheifest), then Besistenes and Bathes.

Besistenes are faire greate buildings full of Shopps within, which open att nine in the morning and shutt att three in the affternoone. The Owners leaveinge their Shopps and goods in Custodie of the Keepers of the said place, being verye secure, where are sold none but fine and rich wares[1].

Bathes are places where Men resort to wash themselves, which is often used, especially by weomen, for whom there bee bathes a parte which they frequent twice a Weeke att least[2]. Haveinge pitched our Tent neere the Cane as aforesaid, it began soe to rayne that wee were glad to shelter our selves within the said Cane.

Voyage into the Levant, p. 160; Tournefort, *A Voyage into the Levant*, vol. ii. p. 60 f.; and Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania*, vol. ii. p. 960.

A detailed account of the "Quiervansaras" of Turkey, by Des Hayes, will be found in *Appendix* F.

[1] See pp. 29 and 37. For further descriptions of *bazistāns* or arcaded shops, see Della Valle, *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 42; Thévenot, *Travels into the Levant*, Part i. p. 26; Dumont, *A New Voyage into the Levant*, p. 149; Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania*, vol. ii. p. 962 f.

[2] See note 2 on p. 37. See also Della Valle, *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 45. Compare Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant*, ed. 1638, p. 100, "Upon the taking of any Towne, the first thing they (the Turks) erect is publique Bathes, which they establish with faire revenues; so that for lesse then two pence, any man or woman may bee bathed with cleane linnen, and neate attendance."

The 16th. of May, 1620. Wee came to Uzumyova[1], a little Towne where wee dined; then to Cayalucke (15 miles)[2], a poore Towne of Christians, Where their best walls were of Stakes and Bowes covered with strawe[3]. Heere were Store of Hoggs, and the first wee saw since our settinge out from Constantinople[4]. My Lord himselfe lodged in one of those poore howses.

Noate: that all the Townes wee passed by or through hitherto (this excepted) have bene somewhat hansome, with their Cherches, Canes[5] and Bathes[6] fairely built, the Turke beinge very curious in those kind of buildings, as alsoe Besistenes[7], but the latter only in greate Citties.

The 17th. May, 1620. Comminge to another poore Towne of Christians (Papaslee, 18 miles)[8], wee there dyned, and from thence wee came to the Cittie of Phillippopolis (12 miles)[9], said to be built by Phillipp the father of

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[1] The modern Uzunjova or Usunchobi. Poullet, in his map, has Ouzouisgiova. A map of 1690 (B.M. 43335. 3) has Usumchese; a map of 1744 (B.M. 28195. 22) has Usumchova; and a map of 1822 (B.M., *S.* 205) has Ouzoundja-ova.

[2] The modern Kialik, Des Hayes speaks of "Caiali" as a Christian town. See *Appendix* F. Poullet, in his map, has Kaili Kioj.

[3] "I say their howses." Author's marginal note.

[4] Until his arrival at Kialik, the author had only passed through Muhammadan towns.

[5] *Khāns.* See pp. 46 and 52. [6] See note 2 on p. 53.

[7] See pp. 29, 37 and 53.

[8] Still known as Papasli. Poullet, in his map, has Apapasli Kioj.

[9] Here the author has a marginal note, "Phillipicke feilds, vid: Fol. I." This refers to Blount's remarks on Philippopolis and Mundy's comments thereon. These will be found in *Appendix* A.

Compare the account of Busbequius, *Travels into Turkey*, p. 31, "The City of Philippopolis is situate on one of three little Hills, disjoyned, and as it were, rent from the rest of the Mountains, and is, as the Grace of those little Hillocks....The whole Plain, about the Town, is full of little round Hills of Earth, which the Turks say, were raised on Purpose, as Monuments of the frequent Battles fought in those Fields and the Graves [of] such as were slain there."

Compare Poullet's description of Philippopolis, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. ii. p. 177, "Nous passâmes la Marissa sur un pont de bois assez mal fait, et arrivâmes à Philipopolis, ou Philiba, jolie ville, située sur le bord de cette riviere, passablement bien batie, dans une assiette fort agreable, et un peu plus grande que Saint Denis." See also the account of Des Hayes in *Appendix* F.

PUNISHMENTS USED IN TURKIE

STAKEINGE, GAUNCHINGE, DRUBBING OR BEATING ON THE FEETE

Allexander. It lyes in a greate plaine with high hills on either side, hard by a River, over which was a tymber bridge. Hard by us wee discovered the carcasses of Two men eaten with the Doggs, there remaineinge nothinge but their bones. They were taken some six dayes past in the Mountaines adjoyninge, robbinge and killinge, soe were staked alive[1], after throwne downe to bee eaten by Doggs.

This punnishment of Stakeinge is ordinarily inflicted on such kinde of Offenders, which is by driveinge with a great Sledge a bigge, longe, sharpe, poynted pole in att their Fundament quite through their Body, untill it come forth betwene head and shoulders[2]. The Malefactor is first laid on the Ground flatt on his Belly with ropes tied to his feete, where divers hold on and pull, one or two kneeling on his backe to keepe him from strugglinge; while another, att the farther end, with a Mall[3] or sledge beateth it into his body. Then they sett the Pole an end, where the body is to remaine three dayes, and continueth alive ordinarily Eight or nine howres, sometymes more. Myself was present att one of theis Executions att Constantinople, where I heard the blowes of the Mall, and the most horrible and fearefull Crye of the Tortured wretch; but hee sodainely left off, even as the Stake was through his Body, all though hee lived and spake many howres after. I could not well come neere to see him for the presse of people till hee was sett upp[4].

Some are executed by Gaunchinge. Gaunches[5] are

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[1] See the *Journey of Edward Barton, Esq.*, in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Book viii. ch. 9, p. 1355.

[2] In the British Museum copy of Mundy's Travels, *Harl. MS.*, 2286, the description of Staking ends here.

[3] *i.e.* a mallet.

[4] For similar accounts of Staking, see the *Voyage* of John Sanderson in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Book ix. ch. 16, p. 1623; Lithgow, *Painefull Peregrinations*, p. 154; and *Rawl. MS.*, C. 799, fol. 30 b.

[5] Gaunch or ganch, an obsolete word from the French *ganche*, Ital. *ganciare*, *gancio*, a hook, is the apparatus employed in the

great, sharpe, poynted Iron Hookes of about a yard and a halfe in Compasse, which are fastned on a high paire of Gallowes, three hookes on each side. On the two side Timbers of the said Gallowes (which goe four or five yards higher then the hookes) there is annother Beame overthwart, on which are fastned acrosse three lesser, over each paire of hookes one, haveinge litle Pullies att their ends, which lye right over the poynts of the said hookes. Soe the Offender, haveinge his hands and feete made fast together behinde his back, is by them hoysed upp, and, on a suddaine lett fall upon one of the said hookes, where hee must hange three dayes likewise[1], lett it Catch where it will, breast, shoulders, or thighes; but most commonly it runns in at their bellies and out att their Backe, and may remaine alive a whole day or more[2].

Others are hanged, although there are noe publique Gallowes nor Gibbetts, as I could see, but on Trees; and if it bee in a Towne, upon some end of a beame stickinge out of any mans wall or howse, or any other place where they can conveniently fasten a Rope[3].

Weomen offenders are bound in a Sack, and in the night with great silence throwne in the Sea, haveing stones made fast thereto to sinck them[4].

Theis are the punishments (amonge the rest) wherewith Malefactors are putt to Death att Constantinople.

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execution of criminals by ganching. See Murray, *Oxford English Dictionary*, where the earliest quotation for the word is, 1625—1626.

[1] The British Museum copy, *Harl. MS.*, 2286, has "till hee dyes."

[2] For other accounts of "gaunching," see the *Voyage* of John Sanderson in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Book ix. ch. 16, p. 1628; *Rawl. MS.*, C. 799, fol. 30 b; and Thévenot, *Travels into the Levant*, Part i. p. 68 f.

[3] See the *Voyage* of John Sanderson in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Book ix. ch. 16, p. 1628; and Du Loir, *Voyages*, p. 187. Bargrave, *Rawl. MS.*, C. 799, fol. 30 b, says that Jews were commonly seized upon and compelled to perform the duties of the hangman, the nearest beam serving as gallows.

[4] See Sandys, *Travels*, p. 52, and Dumont, *A New Voyage to the Levant*, p. 241.

For smaller Crimes, they are beaten on the feete (some terme it Drubbinge)[1], In this manner. First, there is a good big Stacke[2] with a small rope unto, and with which the Offenders feete are made fast, and soe held upp betwene Two, his body lyeinge on the ground, while other two with two prettie small Cudgells alternatively, or one after an other, lay him on the soules of his feete, whereon att most the Offender hath but a paire of thinn Pumps, unto such a number of blowes as hee shalbe thought to disserve; A terrible paine by report of those that have felt it. This is the extreamest manner of its execution, for ordinarily one man serveth to hold upp his feete while the other striketh thereon[3].

One punishment more I saw inflicted on Two weomen, the youngest of them for playing the Harlott and the elder for being her Bawde. They were sett on Asses backs, their faces all besmeared with Soote, dirt and filth, their heads, necks, sholders and bosomes over layed and hung round with the Intrailes, gutts and garbidge of some Sheep or other beasts, with the Excrament adhearinge, and in this sweet pickle they were conducted through the Streets of Gallata, etts.[4]

What I relate of theis Sundrey punishments is partly by my owne knowledge as an Eye Witnes, and partly by the generall and Common Report of the Inhabitants[5].

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[1] The descriptions of the punishments of "Drubbinge" and "Shameinge," as well as of the "Three Severall sorts of Swingings" are omitted in the British Museum copy, *Harl. MS.*, 2286.

[2] Stock.

[3] See Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 348; and Thévenot, *Travels into the Levant*, Part i. pp. 66 and 68.

[4] In the *Voyage* of John Sanderson, in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Book ix. ch. 16, p. 1623, a similar punishment is described for false witnesses.

See Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 348; and Dumont, *A New Voyage to the Levant*, p. 267.

[5] The value of Mundy's MS. is enhanced by his abstention from using, as his own, the experiences of other travellers.

Theis three, vizt. Stakeing, Gaunching and Drubbinge are (for the better apprehension) expressed by Figures on the other side[1].

To divert your thoughts from those most creuell and Torturinge punishments, I will digresse to some of their pastimes, and amonge the rest the severall Sorts of Swinginge used in their Publique rejoyceings att their Feast of Biram[2].

First there is erected (as it were) an exceedinge high paire of Gallowes, parralell with the Topps of their howses, from whence descends three Ropes, where unto is fastned a trianguler board which hangeth about three foote from the ground, on which the partie sitts that is to bee swunge, if a litle Boy hee comonly is made fast, although others more hardy hold fast themselves. Then four or five fellowes first with their hands give them a litle way, haveing ready certen yards of Cerse[3] webb, Clapp it before him att his comeing backe, lettinge it goe soe farr as it may, then forcibly pull him backe againe, Thus continueinge untill he come to a great high, the Musique playing all the while. But much more doth a man doe alone without any helpe, soe that only with a certaine Carriage of his body hee swingeth himself levell with the Topps of the Timber, which may seeme strange to some, though not so much if any one would make tryall; For once haveinge gotten the least motion, every tyme he ascends, forward or backward to raise himself upright, and in fallinge to contracte himselfe close towards his feete, and thus every Turne he will gaine untill hee come to the highte aforesaid, with soe swifte a motion, equalling the flight of a Bird in the Ayre.

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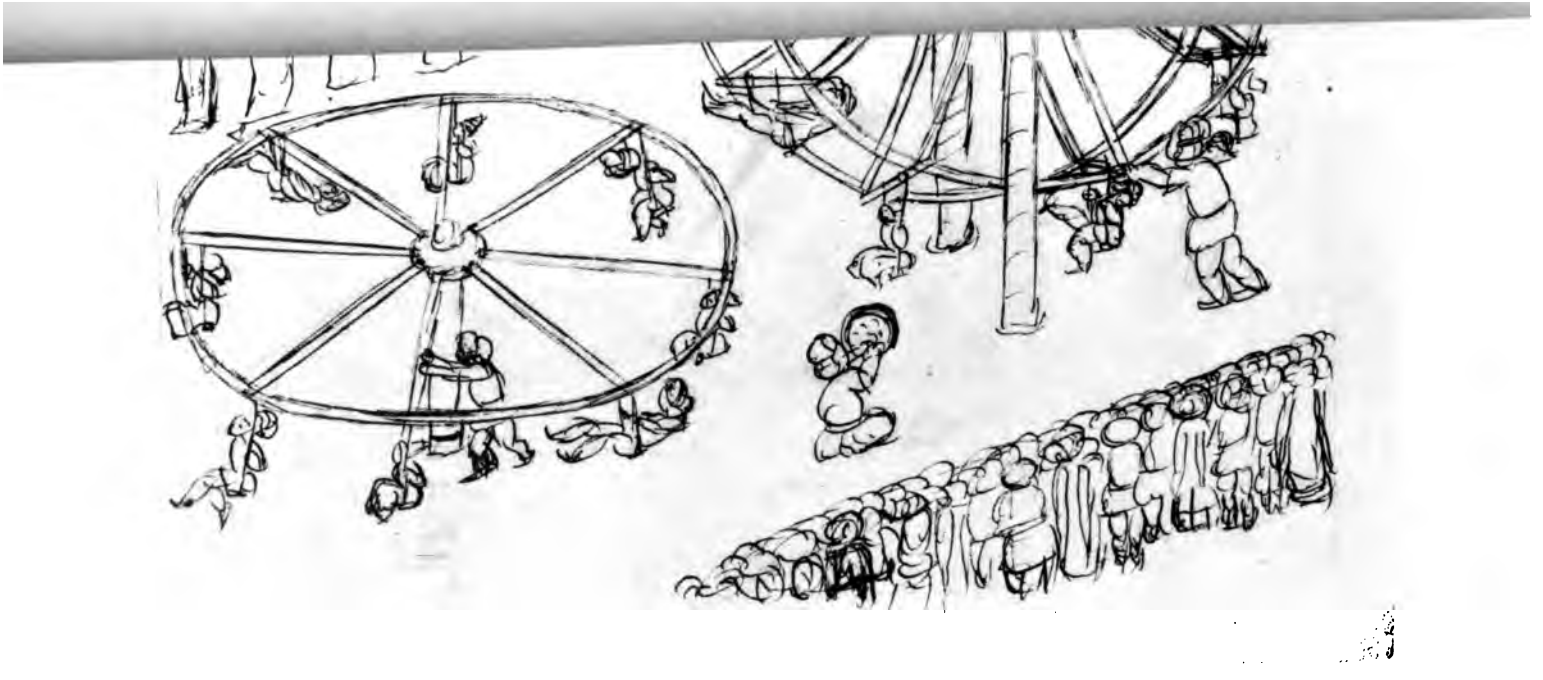
[1] See illustration facing p. 55.

[2] See Thévenot, *Travels into the Levant*, Part i. p. 42 f. for an account of the observance of the Bairām in his time.

[3] coarse.



THREE SEVERALL SORTS OF SWINGINGS

Other twoe sorts there are, lesse dangerous and troublesome. One is like a Craine wheele att Customhowse Key[1] and turned in that Manner, whereon Children sitt on little seats hunge round about in severall parts thereof, And though it turne right upp and downe, and that the Children are sometymes on the upper part of the wheele, and sometymes on the lower, yett they alwaies sitt upright[2].

The third sort is like a great Cart Wheele, on whose Circumference are fastned litle seats, whereon the Children beinge sett, the wheele is putt about, they all goeing round Horizontallwise[3]. Theis two latter only servinge for litle Children[4].

The three sorts of Swinginge beforementioned are also expressed in the Figure on the other side[5].

Beinge att Philippopolis, as in fol. 5[6], understandinge that the Plague was in that Cittie, wee pitched on thother side of it by the bancks of a river as is before mentioned, and our people warned not to goe unto it on any occasion[7].

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[1] The old Customhouse "near to the Tower of London," was built by John Churchman, Sheriff of London, in 1385. See Stow, *Survey of London*, Book v. p. 114. Stow also refers to the "Custom House Key" as follows (Book ii. p. 53), "The present Names of the Keys or Wharfs lying on the South Side...Custom House Key....But above all is the Custom House: Which being consumed by the Fire of London 1666, is rebuilt in a much more magnificent and uniform manner." As Stow has no reference to the "Craine wheele" mentioned by Mundy, it is probable that this also was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666.

[2] The contrivance here described appears to be similar to the now famous "Great Wheel" at Earl's Court.

[3] This "swing" is the "Merry-go-round," still so popular at English country fairs.

[4] In no other contemporary writer on Turkey or the Turks have I found any allusion to the very common oriental pastime of swinging, although the various modes of punishment receive full attention and are described in detail.

[5] See illustration facing p. 58.

[6] *i.e.* fol. 5 of the *Rawlinson MS.*, p. 54 of this volume.

[7] In the British Museum copy, *Harl. MS.*, 2286, there is only the remark, "Heere wee understood the plague was within the Cittie."

Noate: that from Constantinople unto Adrianople is a plaine Champion Countrie[1] without either Tree or bush exceptinge att Townes or Villages[2], But from Adrianople hither, although the like plaine ground, yett over growne with woods and Bushes of Oake for the most part[3].

The 18th. May, 1620. Wee came to this place (Tatar-bazargick, 15 miles)[4], where, having dined, wee past forward to a Christian village (Yengheekeoy, 10 miles)[5], and there remained that night.

The 19th. May, 1620. Departinge from Yenheekeoy,

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[1] *i.e.* open ground, of the nature of downs, not necessarily flat country.

[2] See the descriptions by Poullet and Pococke of the country between Adrianople and Constantinople, quoted in notes on pp. 46 and 48.

[3] Compare Busbequius, *Travels into Turkey*, p. 30, "Before a Man descends into that Plain that is over against Philippopolis, he must go through a Forest."

[4] Still called Tatar Bazarjik. Des Hayes has Basargicq; *vide Appendix* F. Compare Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 177, "Tatar bazargik, un des plus gros bourgs, où il y a un des plus beaux Caravanserails que j'eusse point veu en Turquie, avec une belle horloge qui sonne, et qui découvre la réverie de ceux qui disent que l'Alcoran defend les cloches; n'y ayant presque pas un Turc de consideration qui n'aie une montre sonnante, avec son reveil-matin." In his map Poullet spells Tatar Bazarjik, Thatar basardgin; and, in a map of 1811 (B.M. 43315. 18), the place appears as Tzapar-Bazarjik.

[5] The two contiguous villages, named in the text Yengheekeoy and Yelkeeoy, seem to have been pretty freely mixed up by the old travellers. Thus (1621), Des Hayes (*vide Appendix* F) calls them Janicoli or Novocelo. In a map of 1650 (B.M. 43315. 9) they also appear as Janicoli or Novocelo. Poullet, in his map (1658), names them Novathelo and Lebevitha. A map of 1690 (B.M. 43335. 3) gives Jancoli and Novoceylo. Half a century later a map of 1744 (B.M. 28195. 22) has Novaithelai and Yesnikoi. Taylor, *Travels from England to India in* 1789, vol. ii. p. 310, has Senichoi. A map of 1811 (B.M. 43315. 18) gives Novoselo. Kiepert's map of 1853 (B.M. 43315. 8) has Nawoselo. Lastly, a map of 1856 (B.M. 43315. 30) gives Nowi Khan. In the most modern maps only one village, Novi Khan, or Yeni Khan, appears.

Confusion in the names of oriental villages is quite common, especially in hilly country, and there is nothing unusual in the discrepancies noticed above. The names appear to refer to two separate villages or to detached parts of the same village in the vernacular or translated forms. *Yengi kyuy* means in Turkish "the new village."

wee entred Mountaines[1], deserts[2] and thick woods, where usually repaire Troopes of robbers to the spoyle of Passengers[3], by reason of which my Lord caused every one to goe on foote with their Armes, to bee the more ready if occasion should offer, but God bee praised, there was none.

Att six miles end wee came to Yelkeeoy[4], a village of poore Christians, and four miles further, to Cappeekeoy[5], an other poore village, where is to bee seene a great, high, ruinous Arch of brick, by reporte built by Allexander. Betwene theis two villages[6], wee mett a man beatinge on a drumme[7], sett there of purpose to advise travellers whether there bee theeves or noe, hee abideinge in the most daungerous place of all. Soe wee came to Yteeman (4 miles)[8], lyinge in a vallie[9], where are ten other Townes

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[1] *i.e.* the slopes of the Balkans, separating Rumelia from Bulgaria. These are from three to five thousand feet high, and are covered with thick woods on their tops and sides.

[2] *i.e.* uninhabited spots, not necessarily without vegetation. Pindar and his party were now traversing the Pass of Kapulu Derbend, or Pass of the Gate (*kāpi*, gate, *derbēnd*, pass) so named from the Trajan Gate, the last remains of which were demolished in 1855.

[3] The conditions have not much altered since Mundy's time, for guides were, at any rate until quite lately, hired at Tatar Bazarjik to protect the traveller from the danger of brigands among the passes of the Balkans.

[4] See note 5 on p. 60.

[5] The modern Kapuli. This place has been known under various spellings. Des Hayes (1621) has Capili Dervent (see *Appendix* F). Poullet, in his map (1658), has Vasilita Capili Kioi. A map of 1690 (B.M. 43335. 3) has Capigi Derrene. Another map of 1744 (B.M. 28195. 22) has Capitschik or Temircap. In Kiepert's map of 1867 (B.M. 43305. 54) the place appears as Kapoulou Derbend.

[6] Here the author has a marginal note, "Thermopilae conceaved to bee aboutt this place." Mundy is alluding to Blount's remarks on Thermopylae, which will be found in *Appendix* A.

[7] See Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant*, quoted in *Appendix* A.

[8] The modern Ikhtiman. Des Hayes has Ictiman; see *Appendix* F. Poullet, in his map, has Kivan pachnum, and, in a map of 1744 (B.M. 28195. 22) the place is given as Hischtimon.

[9] Here the author has a marginal note, "And hereabouts is the Mountain Rodope, River Strimon, where Orpheus lived etts. Vid: fol. 1." Mundy is again alluding to Blount. *Vide Appendix* A.

in Sight. Of this dayes Journey, ten myles through woodie mountaines and the rest through Inhabited places.

The 20th. May, 1620. Wee came to the Cittie of Sophia[1], betwene which and Iteeman wee mett another drummer, there beinge an other daungerous place, where Companies have bene robd and killed. Att Our approach wee sawe a great number of Tents, makeinge a gallant shewe, which wee understood belonged to the Beglerbeg of Gretia[2], now bound to the Black Sea against the Cas-

[1] See the accounts of Sophia by Des Hayes and Blount in *Appendix* A and *Appendix* F. Compare Busbequius, *Travels into Turkey*, p. 27, "Sophia is a Town big enough, and well inhabited both by Citizens and Strangers: It was heretofore the Royal Seat of the King of Bulgaria." Compare also Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 168, "Sophie est plus petite qu'Orleans, quoy qu'elle soit la Capitale et le siege du Bacha de la Romelia, boüeuse dans tous ces dehors, où la bonté du terrain laisse un accés fort desagreable, mais assez raisonnablement bâtie par dedans, avec quantité de maisons, lesquelles ont une cymetrie fort approchante à celle des nostres."

A map of 1690 (B.M. 43335. 3) gives Sophia as Sophia Triadizza or Sardica; and a map of 1811 (B.M. 43315. 18) has Scopia.

[2] *i.e.* the Viceroy of Rumelia. The title *bēgler-bēgi*, Bey of Beys, was formerly given to the governors-general of Rumelia (*Rūmeli*, the country of the Greeks) and Anatolia. Compare the following contemporary allusions to the province and the official :—

1607. "The Degrees of the Turks....On the sixt step of honour is the Bashaw lifted up, who is a principall Viceroy...and according to the dignity and majesty of the place called Beglerbeg: these are every three yeeres mansuold [a puzzle: ? Lat. *mansio*, a journey, march; possibly a corruption of Ar. and Turk. *manzil*], that is to say remooved." Gainsford, *Glory of England*, p. 202.

1610. "Greece, tearmed by the Turkes, Rum Ili, that is, the Romane Country: It is ruled by a Beglerbeg or Bassa....This Beglerbeg of Greece is the greatest Commaunder of all other Bassaes in the Turkish Provinces of Europe." Lithgow, *Painefull Peregrinations*, p. 73.

1616. "Beglerbeg signifieth Lord of Lords: of which there are wont to be two; one in Europe, another in Asia: but by Solyman increased, that though Romania and Natolia have still the chiefe titles, yet in Europe are foure others." Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, p. 292.

1621. "Tous les Beglerbeis s'appellent communément Bashas. Or, Bascha, qui en Turc veut dire teste, est une qualité que les principaux de l'Estat prennent, lors qu'ils ont exercé quelque gouvernement. Mais Beglerbey, s'entend d'un gouvernement general de Province, que le grand Seigneur donne pour tant et si peu qu'il luy plaist: et ce mot de Beglerbey signifie Seigneur des Seigneurs." Des Hayes, *Voiage de Levant*, p. 45.

1635. "There are two Beglierbegs (that is to say Lord of Lords)

sacks[1], a people of Russia whoe did much molest the Turkes in those parts. This Cittie lyeth in a plaine[2], there being about twenty Townes and villages in the said plaine all in sight togeather.

The 21st. May, 1620. His Lordshipp went to visitt the Beglerbeg att a howse hee had within the Cittie, where, when hee came, after salutations on each side, there was Sherbett brought for them and the rest. It is a drincke made of Sugar, Juice of Lemmons and water, with which the better sort mingle Amber, Muske, Roses, Violetts, etts., this beinge the ordinary drincke of great men, their Lawe forbiddinge them wyne; the poorer sort drinke only water[3]. Soe haveinge past halfe an hower in Complementall conference, they tooke leave each of other. In the outward Court of the howse there was a Standard sett upp,

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the one of Romania or Greece, the other of Natolia or Asia the lesse." Grimston, *The History of the Imperiall Estate of the Grand Seigneurs*, p. 169. See also Blount's remarks on the "Beglerbeg of Greece" quoted in *Appendix* A.

[1] The ravages of the Cossacks along the southern coasts of the Black Sea had become a serious menace to the peace of the empire during the reign of Ahmad I. In 1613 they surprised and devastated the city of Sinope.

[2] The plain is watered by the river Isca.

[3] Compare the following contemporary remarks on this beverage:—

"Water mixed with honey, which they call sherbert." Gainsford, *Glory of England*, p. 203.

"Above the rest (of drinkes) they [the Turks] esteeme Sherbets made with Sugar, the Juyce of Lemmons, Peaches, Apricocks, Violets, or other Flowers, Fruits, and Plumbes as each country affoords; these are dryed together into a consistence reasonable hard, and portable for theire use in warre, or else-where, mingling about a spoonefull with a quart of water." Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant*, p. 105.

"Une certaine composition qu'ils appellent chorbet, fait de sucre, et de jus de limon, d'essence de violette, de rose, de jasmin, ou de quelques autres odeurs: laquelle se conserve des années entieres dans des pots de fayance; parce qu'elle n'est pas en liqueur. Elle ressemble à la dureté de notre castonnade; on en delaye une ou deux cueillerées dans une grande tassée d'eau, quand on s'en veut servir." Poullet, *Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 109.

See also Grimston's description of "Sorbet." *The History of the Imperiall Estate of the Grand Seigneurs*, p. 141; and Della Valle, *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 90.

Which to us appeared a horse taile dyed redd[1]. Other sort there are questionlesse[2]. For att my beinge att Constantinople came a Persian Ambassador about a Confirmation of

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[1] The Turkish honorary distinction of a Standard of one to seven Horse-tails arose out of the old Turkman custom of granting the right to display a Standard of one or more Yak-tails as a reward to officers of high rank for exceptional military services. The earliest mention of it among the Osmanli Turks appears to be in 1288 A.D., when Osmān I. received from the Seljuki Sultan Alāu'ddīn III. the following insignia—a banner, a drum, a robe, a sword and a horse-tail by way of recognition of his importance. *Vide* D'Oksza, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. i. p. 35, and Von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. i. p. 75. *Vide* also Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 34 f.

Compare Della Valle and Tournefort for the popular stories of the origin of the Horse-tail Standard:—"Six Capigis Bassis, qui sont les Capitaines des Portiers du Grand Seigneur marchoient en suite à cheval avec chaque Compagnie de Capigis, qui precedoient les Estendarts Imperiaux, trois desquels ne sont que des queuës de cheval, au bout de trois lances assez longues; et l'on dit que cette coutume n'est introduite que depuis qu'en une certaine bataille, après que l'Estendart fut pris par les ennemis, un simple soldat coupa la queuë de son cheval, et fit merveilles, l'ayant attachée au bout d'une demipicque. Ils s'en sont toujours servis comme d'un symbole d'honneur, en memoire d'une si belle action: quoy que l'on die que c'est chez les Romains que cela s'est fait et que les Turcs ne s'en servent qu'à leur imitation. Quoy qu'il en soit, c'est un de leurs principaux Estendarts: et quand le Premier Bassa va faire la guerre par l'ordre du grand Seigneur, on en porte toujours trois devant luy, au lieu que devant les autres Chefs inferieurs...l'on n'en porte qu'un." Della Valle, *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 140 f.

"The Grand Vizier is preceded by three Horse-tails, on the top of each of which is a gilded Apple: this is the Military Ensign of the Ottomans, which they call Thou or Thouy (*tūgh*). For a certain General of this Nation, they say, being at a plunge to rally his Troops, who had lost all their Standards, thought of this Device, to cut off a Horse's Tail, and erect it on the point of a Lance: the Soldiers flock'd to this new Ensign, and came off with Victory." Tournefort, *A Voyage into the Levant*, vol. ii. p. 20. Facing page 20, there is an illustration of "A Turkish Standard or Horse-Tail, call'd in Turkey Hou or Houy." Galland, *Journal*, vol. i. p. 125 f. has a full description of the Turkish "thou" and the story of its origin.

Compare also Tavernier, *A Relation of the Grand Signior's Seraglio*, vol. ii. p. 88 f., "The Entrance into Constantinople of the Sultaness on the Second of July 1668....The Order of the March.... There appear'd afterwards Six Capigis, about the first Coach.... They had each of them a Launce in his hand; and in the Rear of them, there appear'd a Horse-tail-Banner, of a pale-red colour, whereby it was known, that some Bassa's were coming up."

[2] From this point to the end of the paragraph is an addition not found in the copy at the British Museum. *Harl. MS.*, 2286.

a peace betwene the Gran Signior and the Kinge of Persia[1], whoe brought with him a great Present of Silke, both rawe and wrought, Carpetts, etts. The said Ambassader was received into the Cittie with a very great, rich and warlike shewe of horse and foote, the latter all Janizaries[2], whereof some bands or Companies had each man a whole compleat Leopards Skinn over his shoulder, whereon he carried his peece or Gunn: And amonge theire troops were sundry Ensignes on the Topp of longe staves, as the image of some fowle, the head of some beast and other figures, somewhat resemblinge the manner wee see deciphered by Picture in Romaine Battailes.

The 22nd. May, 1620. Beinge two miles in our way from Sophia, wee were overtaken by a Chiawsh[3] and twenty Jannizaries with nine waggons, bound for Buda[4],

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[1] The "Persian Ambassador" was Būrūn Kāsim (Kāsim of the Nose), who was sent by Shāh 'Abbās to Constantinople in 1618 to confirm the terms of peace between Persia and the Porte. His visit is thus described in the *Annals of Naima*, vol. i. p. 466, "The Arrival of a Persian ambassador. In the month of Jemadi I. [A.H. 1026, A.D. 1617] the Persian ambassador, Būrūn Kāsim, sometimes called Kāsim Beg, but, in his credentials, Alī Sultān Khalīfeh, arrived at Scutari with one hundred loads of silk, four elephants, and one rhinoceros, with other gifts for the emperor of the Ottomans. From Scutari he passed over to the imperial city, and was lodged in the palace of Pertev Pāshā. His letter to the emperor specified, in all its various ramifications, the treaty signed by Khalīl Pāshā." The accuracy of Mundy is therefore curiously confirmed.

[2] See note 2 on p. 43.

[3] Turkish *chawush*, now-a-days a minor military officer, a sergeant, but in Mundy's time a high official. Compare Gainsford, *Glory of England*, p. 201 f., "The Degrees of the Turks. The fift roome is supplyed by the Chiaus, a degree of honourable eminence and may ranke with our Barons. For they ride in velvet gownes, silver-plated saddles, costly stirrups, and rich turbans."

Compare also Knolles, *Historie of the Turkes*, p. 1393, "The Grand Seignior hath also certaine officers attending on him to the number of three thousand, whom they call Chiaus, which are as it were sergeant at armes. These are men well esteemed and are often employed in Embassies to forreine Princes: They also carry letters and commendations from the Prince or his chiefe Vizier, and they apprehend offenders. These never goe to the Warre but when the Sultan is there in person. They are commanded by a Chiaus Bassa."

[4] Then in the Turkish Empire.

with pay for the Soldiers there in Garrison. The Beglerbeg[1] sent a Couple of Soldiers alonge with us to conducte us in our way. Att noone wee dined in the feilds nere some stony hills, haveinge gone about ten myles. After dinner wee departed, and entringe among Rockie Hills[2], wee were overtaken with rayne, where wee had not only a dangerous passage by reason of Theeves, but very troublesome and wearisome by reason of the rockey, stony way and durtie weather. Att length wee came to Zarebrode (10 miles)[3], a little village, where wee remained with as little ease, the foule weather continueinge all night, and Lodginge very scarse, my Lord himselfe beinge glad to take parte of a poore mans howse with the poore man, his wife and Children.

The 23rd. May, 1620. Wee came to Zarekeeoy (8 miles)[4], a greate Towne, where wee remained that afternoone by reason of the dirtie way, wearynesse of the horses, as alsoe likelyhood of more rayne. But the Chiawsh and Janizaries[5] left us, and went forward, their busines requiring more hast. In this Towne was a small Castle, and little river. Also, from under a Hill close by, there issueth such a Spring of Water that is imedeatly sufficient to drive a good Mill.

The 24th. May, 1620. Accompanied with fourteen

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[1] See note 2 on p. 62.

[2] For a description of the country between Nissa and Sophia see *Appendix* F.

[3] The modern Zaribrod. The author's distances are rather misleading here. Apparently he means that Zaribrod was ten miles from the place where Pindar's train dined and not from Sophia, the last town mentioned.

[4] The modern Pirot or Sharkoi, the former being the Bulgarian and the latter the Turkish name of the place. Des Hayes has Cherquioi (see *Appendix* F), and Poullet, in his map, has Charkioi. Compare Taylor, *Travels from England to India in* 1789, vol. ii. p. 309, "Schiarchioi. Here you have fine plains and the rest woods." In a map of 1830 (B.M. 43625. 1) the place appears as Csarda.

[5] See note 2 on p. 43.

Spahees[1], or horsemen, wee proceeded (25 miles), my Lord haveinge a Commaundment from the Gran Signior to all Governors and Officers where hee should passe, to see him safely conducted from place to place[2]; As also to furnish him with such provisions and necessaries as hee should neede att the charge of the Greate Turke. But my Lord would not make use of it in wronging the poore Christians thereby, for the aforesaid Officers would perforce take from them what they listed, as sheepe, henns, milke, butter, etts., without giveinge anie pennie for it but blowes[3].

Wee came to a village called Curut Chisme (15 miles), as much as to say a drye fountaine, There beinge one abandoned of water[4], as the village was of Inhabitants, by reason of the great tax imposed on them by the Governor of the Province, which they being not able to pay, fledd for feare of farther miserys, the Turks grindeing their verie bones[5], for all the benefitt poore Christians can make by

[1] *Sipāhī*, sepoy. Compare Gainsford, *Glory of England*, p. 201, "The Degrees of the Turks....The fourth place is appropriate to the Spahyes, who are inferior horsemen, with high fethers in their strange fashioned hats, somewhat more glorious than the Janizaries, their arming as also the Janizary, keepes some correspondency with the Persian."

Compare also Knolles, *Historie of the Turkes*, p. 1391, "The Turks forces....His horsemen consist of Spahi...these are Christian slaves bred up yong in the Princes Seraglio, who by their merits attaine to that degree."

[2] The same protection was afforded to Des Hayes in the following year. Twenty mounted Turks guarded the Frenchman's party from Nisch towards Adrianople. See *Appendix* F.

[3] See Keppel, *Narrative of a Journey across the Balcan*, vol. i. p. 439, for similar commandeering of goods from Christians by the Turks in 1830.

[4] Turkish *qūrut chesme*, dried-up spring. The inhabitants had returned to the village when Des Hayes passed through it in 1621 (*vide Appendix* F). Des Hayes calls the place Cruchismet. A map of 1650 (B.M. 43315. 9) gives Cruchisnat, and a map of 1690 (B.M. 43315. 3) gives Cruschimit. Poullet, in his map (1658), has Kourou Thehaemech. Kiepert's map of 1853 (B.M. 43315. 8) calls the place Krouschvitza.

[5] See Lithgow, *Painefull Peregrinations*, p. 152, for Turkish oppression of Christians. See also the remarks of Des Hayes in *Appendix* F.

the ground. their Cattell and Labour is hardly enough to supply the Governors impositions layed upon them, and to finde them bread. soe that they are in worse case then Slaves.

From thence wee came to another village of Christians, named Palanca 15 miles r. where is a certen fence made of boughes of trees woven on great Stakes, as wee make our frithes[2]. clapt on the out side with morter. there beinge two of the said frithes about three yards a sunder. the space betwene beinge fill'd upp with greate stones which serves for the wall; and soe it goeth fower square of a great compasse, there dwellinge within sixty or seventy Turkes, the place beinge a Shelter for all people hereabouts to retire unto, because that, from the borderinge mountaines doe often repaire Troops of Christians and doe much harme[3], this beinge in Hungarie[4]. Here is alsoe to bee seene the foundation of some Castle or great building of Bricke.

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[1] "Palanca a wooden castle." Author's marginal note. It is the Turkish *palangha*, a small fort or stockade. The village mentioned by Mundy is still known as Musa Palanka, Bela Palanka, or Ak Palanka. In a map of 1690 (B.M. 43335. 3) it appears as Mehemet Bascha Palanka. In a map of 1744 (B.M. 28195. 22) it is simply Mustapha Basa; and again in 1811 (B.M. 43315. 18) it is Mustafa Pacha. In 1822 (B.M., S. 205. 40) it appears as Moussa Pacha Palanka. Des Hayes (1621) calls it the "Pallanque de Mehemet Bascha." See his account of "Pallanques" in *Appendix* F. See also Blount's remarks quoted in *Appendix* A.

[2] A frith is a hedge or a hurdle, made of wattled brushwood. In Dorset such hurdles are known as "riths."

[3] Compare Busbequius, *Travels into Turkey*, p. 24, "The Christians being wearied out with the Pride and Insolency of the Turks, do many times withdraw themselves from the common Road into desert Places; which tho' they are less fruitful, yet are more secure; and so leave their better Possessions to the domineering Turks." Des Hayes says that a large number of Spahis and Janissaries were posted at Nissa and in the neighbourhood for the security of the roads and to hold the ten thousand Christians of the vicinity in subjection. See *Appendix* F.

[4] The author is incorrect in assigning the district around Nissa to "Hungary." The part to which he refers was in Servia. By "Hungary" Mundy seems to mean a Christian land. Des Hayes, *Voyage de Levant*, p. 26 f., gives the extent of Hungary in 1621 as follows:—"Le Royaume de Hongrie a este cogneu des anciens

The 25th. May, 1620. With thirty-one soldiers out of the said Palanca or fence, wee departed, whoe conducted us halfe way to Nice (29 miles)[1], soe farre in the waie being more daungerous for theeves then any wee past hitherto, and noe lesse troublesome, being mountainous, dirtie and stoney[2]. Soe my Lord, giveinge them some gratification, they were dismissed with a Certificate from my Lord howe they had safely conducted us hitherto, written in Turkish by signior Dominico[3], with my Lords hande and seale to it. The rest of the way, although not soe dangerous and mountainous, yett altogeather soe stonie and dirtie, even to Nice it selfe. Heere is a bridge called Nicea (20 miles), and a River by that name[4], over which the bridge lyeth[5], A Castle none of the best, and a paire of greate old fower square ruinated Brick walls.

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sous le nom de la basse Panonie. Il est borne du coste de Midy par la Save, qui le divise de la Servie, et de la Croatie. Au Septentrion il est separé de la Pologne par les monts Carpatiens. Il a l'Autriche, la Moravie, et la Stirie au Couchant, et au Levant la Transilvanie et la Servie."

Lithgow had a very low opinion of the Hungarians. Compare his *Painefull Peregrinations*, p. 414 f., "The Hungarians have ever been thistuous, treacherous and false, so that there one brother will hardly trust another, which infidelity among themselves and distracted deceitfull governours, was the chiefest Cause of their overthrow and subjection under Infidels."

[1] The modern Nisch, or Nissa. In a map of 1690 (B.M. 43335. 3) the place is called Nizza, and in one of 1744 (B.M. 28195. 22) it appears as Naissus.

[2] Pindar and his train were now traversing a pass over the Balkans. Compare Taylor, *Travels from England to India in* 1789, vol. ii. p. 309, "Nissa. Here you pass through a very dangerous Country, being all woods and infested with robbers." See also the remarks of Des Hayes on the road to Nissa in *Appendix* F.

[3] The Dragoman. See p. 42, note 5, for an account of this man.

[4] Now known as the river Nissava.

[5] "I say the River is called Nicea haveing a bridge over it." Author's marginal note. Des Hayes calls the river "Nice" or "Nichava." He says that it separates Servia from Bulgaria, Nisch being then under the government of Buda and the country on the other side of the river under the Governor of Greece. See *Appendix* F.

Compare Busbequius, *Travels into Turkey*, p. 21, "At a small Distance from Jagodna, we met with a little River which the Neighbouring Inhabitants called Nissus, and we kept it on our right Hand

The 26th. Ditto. About seven miles from Nice, wee overtook the Chiaush with his twenty Jannissaries, whoe formerly left us[1], And at Roshneah[2] wee lodged in a good Cane[3], the way beinge faire and plaine, although desert and full of woods.

The 27th. May, Anno 1620. Wee past by Paracheeno (6 miles)[4], a small village, and from thence four miles further to a bigg river[5] without a Bridge, soe that wee spent four howres att least in passinge our selves and necessaries[6], and soe came to Yagola (10 miles)[7], where is another Palanca, or wooden fence: heere wee pitched for this night.

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almost all the Way till we came to Nissa; yea, and beyond the Town, upon the Bank thereof were there some Remains of an old Roman Way....As for the Town of Nissa, for that Country, it is a decent one, and full of inhabitants."

Compare also Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 164, "Nous continuâmes de suivre nostre route par des marécages, quantité d'arbres, quelques petits villages par Nissa petite ville, laquelle donne son nom à Nissava petite riviere, et par les détours du fond d'une seconde montagne."

See also Blount's account of "Nisse" quoted in *Appendix* A.

[1] See p. 66.

[2] The modern Rashan or Razan. Des Hayes calls the place Razena. See *Appendix* F. A map of 1830 (B.M. 43625. 1) has Raschnia.

[3] *Khān*. See note 1 on p. 46 and note 5 on p. 52.

[4] The modern Paratjin or Parachin Palanka, and the Paraquin of Des Hayes (*vide Appendix* F). Poullet, in his map, has Pachin palankassi.

[5] The Morava.

[6] Compare Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 164, "Nous arrivâmes apres deux jours et demy de chemin sur le bord d'une grosse riviere nommée la Morava...nous fusmes tout un jour à traverser ce fleuve sur des batteaux." Des Hayes had a similar experience (*vide Appendix* F).

[7] *i.e.* Yagodin or Jagodina. Des Hayes says that this town contained more Turks than Christians in 1621.

Compare Busbequius, *Travels into Turkey*, p. 20, "After we had past the River called Morava, we came to a Town of the Servians, named Jagodna."

Compare also Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 164, "Nous passasmes au travers de quantité de bois fort epais, d'une montagne...qui fait en cet endroit un défilé de peu de longueur, et qui s'élargit en une plaine vers sa fin; au commencement de laquelle paroist Yagodena, gros bourg."

The 28th. May, 1620. Haveinge dined att Batachin (12 miles)[1], wee passed forward to Casanpasha Palanca (12 miles)[2], Palanca being the proper name of one of those wooden Fortifications[3], of which sort this was the fairest wee sawe hetherto, haveinge Turretts of boards, which made a very handsome shewe: we lodged in a large Cane.

The 29th. May, 1620. Att this Towne (Colare, 13 miles)[4], is another Palanca, from whence (haveing dined), wee came to Gratsco (13 miles)[5], scituate on the River Danubius[6], heere beinge also a Palanco and two great stone Canes, but my Lord pitched neere the Towne. Heere was a man staked[7], beinge one of fifteen that were

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[1] The modern Batotschina and the Baticina of Des Hayes, who calls it a Christian village (*vide Appendix* F). Poullet, in his map, has Deveh Bayoj. A map of 1680 (B.M. 28160. 2) has Barakin. A map of 1720 (B.M. 27730. 1) has Potitschina. A map of 1744 (B.M. 28195. 22) has Patazin. A map of 1811 (B.M. 43315. 18) has Ratshina; and, in a map of 1830 (B.M. 43625. 1) the place appears as Devibagardan. Compare the *Annals of Naima*, vol. i. p. 17, "After passing through Philippopolis and Sophia [in 1602], he (the Grand Vizīr, Sirān Pāshā) caused a palanka and an inn to be erected at a place called Batchina in the district of Yaghodina, a dangerous and difficult pass, and exposed to banditti."

[2] *i.e.* Hassan Pasha's Palanka. Des Hayes calls it "la Palanque de Hassem Bascha" and says it was inhabited by an equal number of Turks and Christians in 1621 (*vide Appendix* F). A map of 1830 (B.M. 43625. 1) has Hassan Paschina Palanka. The place is now known as Hassan Palanka or merely Palanka.

[3] See note 1 on p. 68.

[4] The modern Kolar or Kullar. Des Hayes calls the place Cola and says that, in 1621, it contained more Turks than Christians. Poullet, in his map, has Cola palankassi, thus confirming the author's statement as to the existence of a *palangha* at this place. In a map of 1744 (B.M. 28195. 22), the place appears as Koiar.

[5] Grotzka, on the Danube. Des Hayes says that "Grosca," called by the Turks "Ichargic" [*i.e. Hissār kūchuk*], means "little castle" (*vide Appendix* F). In two maps of 1720 the place appears as Grusca Icargie and Isardschick Krotzka; in a map of 1744 it is Krozka, and in one of 1830 it is called Stolnaz or Groczka.

[6] "Danubius, the most famous river of Europe, vid: fol: 1." Author's marginal note. Mundy is referring to his extracts from Blount's *Voyage into the Levant*, for which see *Appendix* A.

[7] See p. 55. Impaling was still practised in 1830 (see Keppel, *Narrative of a Journey across the Balcan*, vol. i. p. 458), but the victims were first shot.

taken and put to death hereabouts of fifty that haunted the woods and Mountaines: the rest escaped.

The 30th. May, 1620. Wee came to the Cittie of Belgrade (12 miles)[1], lyeing on Danubius. Heere my Lord hired a howse, being determined to stay some few daies. Also our waggons were discharged[2], being to take horses henceforward by reason of the mountainous waie.

The 31st. May, 1620. My Lord went to visitt the Caddee[3], which is a Justice amongst the Turkes, where haveinge stayed one hower, hee departed, and went through the Cittie to the River side, where takeinge boate, wee past over and backe againe for recreation. There ride before the Cittie thirty-five floatinge milles[4], theire Cables of withes, and theire Anchors greate basketts filled full of stones, makeinge as faire a shewe afarr of as they were handsome

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[1] Here Mundy again refers to "Fol: 1" of his MS., containing Blount's remarks on Belgrade. For these see *Appendix* A. In his Index, the author defines Belgrade as "A Citty in Hungary under the Turck." See Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 129, for a short description of Belgrade.

Pindar's train occupied twenty-five days in the journey from Constantinople to Belgrade, a distance of six hundred and twenty-seven miles, an average of twenty-one miles a day. See note 6 on p. 45.

[2] See Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 162, for an account of Turkish vehicles of transit and the discomfort endured in them.

[3] *i.e.* the *kāzī* or *kādī*. Compare Des Hayes, *Voyage de Levant*, p. 60, "Pendant le sejour que nous fismes à Belgrade, le Sieur Deshayes alla voir plusieurs fois le Mola Cady, appellé Habil effendi, qui est le Juge de la ville."

[4] Mills of this sort still exist in the neighbourhood of Belgrade. Compare Busbequius, *Travels into Turkey*, p. 17, "I...passed down the Stream to Belgrade....In my Passage down the River...there were many Water-Mills, with several Trunks and Boughs of Trees hanging over the Banks."

Compare also Des Hayes, *Voyage de Levant*, p. 60, "Les moulins qui sont au milieu de l'eau (sur le Danube de Bude à Belgrade), et qui sont grandement dangereux."

See also Blount's remarks on the mills at Belgrade, quoted in *Appendix* A, and Major Keppel's remarks on the Floating Mills on the Maritza in 1829 (*Narrative of a Journey across the Balcan*, vol. i. p. 144). On the Adige, at Verona, in the present day, there are still floating mills, such as are here described by the author.

within, in all things resemblinge a howse, saveinge the forepart, which was shipp shapen, built on a greate Barge, the building being neatly contrived, each tymber beinge squared and wrought, haveinge noe Iron worke, all fastned with wooden pinns, there being an other small boate to uphold the other end of the Axeltree whereon the water wheele turneth, which are att least eight yards broad, I meane that part or outer circle which the water turneth, in regard of the soft motion of the Streame, and a small bridge to passe from the Mill to the lesser boate. Theie are made aloft in the Country and sent downe with the Currant. The river is abundant in fish, as Sturgeons, Carpes, Pikes, etts., which are soe cheape as is almost incredible[1].

The first of June, 1620. Wee went to see the Cittie, beinge scituate on a poynte where the River Saba[2] runneth into Danubius, which is nothing neere halfe soe broad, but of a farr more swifter course. The Cittie conteynes about 2000 howsholds, whereof sixty or seventy are Jewes, the rest Christians and Turkes: generally made of Boards, both walls and rooffe (Churches, Besistenes[3], bathes and Canes[4] excepted), which are built of Stone. Howsoever,

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[1] Compare Busbequius, *Travels into Turkey*, p. 85, "At Belgrade, upon one of our Fish-days, we were presented with abundance of choice Fish, and amongst the rest, with large full-bodied Carps, taken in the Danube, whose Carps are very much commended...yet all that quantity of Fish, which was enough to satisfy forty Men, cost but half a Dollar."

Compare also Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 135 f., "Un patissier Turc me fournissoit de bon pain, et du meilleur poisson de cette riviere, qui n'a pas la chair ferme comme celuy des nostres ; quoy qu'ils n'ait que de tres-grosses carpes, de beaux brochets et de grands esturgeons, et m'en envoyoit de passablement bien appresté, plus que moy et mon valet n'en pouvions pas manger, pour vingt sols par jour, du prix de la monnoye de France."

See also *Appendix* F for similar remarks by Des Hayes.

[2] *i.e.* the river Save. [3] See notes on pp. 29, 37 and 53.

[4] Compare the following quaint allusion to the *Khāns* of Turkey in "Mr Stampes observations in his Voyage to Constantinople and thence overland to Ragusa in 1609," *Stowe MS.* 180, fol. 30, "The first night wee came to a Towne called Biux Cegnige [Bīyuk Chekmeje] where wee lay in a stable, the next...at Celebrea [Silivri] in the stable,

those wooden buildings make a faire shewe, beinge very handsomely contrived[1].

The 2nd. June, 1620. The Castle is next worth notice (if not cheife): it standeth within the Cittie on the very pointe which the Two Rivers make, shewinge without to bee a very great, faire and stronge thinge, beinge very much beautifyed with Turretts, bulwarks, battlements and watch Towers round about, wherein is as it were an other Cittie, haveinge Churches, Bathes, etts., all the dwellers Turkes[2]. But on the hill standeth the principall fort, beinge seperated from the rest by a double wall, where wee were not suffered to enter, also many other fortifications included within the outer wall. There is alsoe a Clocke, which is heard over all the Cittie, seeminge strange to us, beinge there are none used in other partes of Turkey that wee could heare[3]: but it is likely that remained over since they conquered this place from the Christians[4].

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and soe from stable to stable even to Ragusa." See also notes on pp. 46 and 52.

[1] Compare Busbequius, *Travels into Turkey*, p. 18, "As for Belgrade itself, it is seated at the confluence of the Save and the Danow; the old City is built in the extreme Angel of the Promontory, the Building is old, it is fortified with many Towers, and a double Wall: Two parts of it are wash'd by the Save and the Danow, but on that part where it is joined to the Land, it hath a very strong Castle on high Ground, consisting of many loftly Turrets made of square Stone; before you come into the City, there is a vast Number of Buildings, and very large Suburbs, wherein several Nations inhabit, viz. Turks, Greeks, Jews, Hungarians, Dalmatians and many others."

[2] The fortress is now only a ruin. See *Appendix* A and *Appendix* F for the remarks of Blount and Des Hayes about the Castle at Belgrade.

Compare Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 127 f., "Ce Fort (à Belgrade)...est construit à l'usage des Grecs, et presque dans la mesme cymetrie que sont les anciennes murailles de nos villes, sinon que les tours n'y sont pas si grosses, ni si bien flanquées que parmi nous, et qu'elles ont par tout des creneaux au lieu d'embrazures."

[3] See Poullet's remarks on clocks in Turkey, note 4 on p. 60. Compare Thévenot, *Travels into the Levant*, Part i. p. 51, "The Turks...though they be great lovers of Clocks and Watches, they'l not take them...if they have any Figures of Men, Women, or Beasts upon them; but they matter it not, if they be of Trees or flowers." English "grandfather" clocks are nowadays to be found in every mosque in Constantinople.

[4] Belgrade was taken by Sulaimān the Magnificent on the 20th August, 1521.

The Ferrie boats they use are of one peece. There are likewise very greate boates for carrieing too and froe Corne, wood, salt, etts. The salt is digged out of the Mountaines in greate peeces of neere three quarters of a yard square, blackish to Sight, but being beaten small, exceedeth all other in whitenesse, brought downe hither by boats, and from thence transported over the Countrie[1]. Wee likewise sawe the Artillery howse, wherein were many brave peeces of brasse ordinance, which the Turks had lately taken from the Emperour[2] with his Armes thereon. Amonge the rest there were of Anno 1596, 1598, 1600, which theie tooke in a Stronge Towne called Canitza upon the River Danubius, or rather Dravus[3].

The 6th. June, 1620. Horses were provided with great difficultie for our farther proceede[4], there being none in Towne, only those newely arrived from other parts. This place is under the Basha of Buda[5], himselfe residinge there, haveinge heere his Deputie, called Caymalcam[6], (being the

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[1] Great quantities of rock-salt were extracted from the district of Saros, in Hungary, in the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries, but, towards the end of this period, the quarries were inundated by salt springs.

[2] Ferdinand II., 1619—1637.

[3] Kaniza, on the Theiss, a tributary of the Drave, was taken by the Turks on the 22 October, 1600. Here the author has a marginal note, "Taken by Mahomet 3rd. aboutt Anno 1600. Knolles, Turky Hist: p. 1130: vid." The account of the siege of Kaniza is, as Mundy says, given by Knolles in his *Historie of the Turkes*, pp. 1130—1132.

Compare the *Annals of Naima*, vol. i. pp. 188, 194 and 195, "The forty-two pieces of cannon and five falconets which had been taken in the trenches were most beautifully ornamented by art, each being of considerable value....The whole of the cannon and arms were transported by order of the Pasha into the fortress of Kaniza....Three full months were spent in collecting and bringing into Kaniza the cannon, arms, ammunition, tents, &c. which the enemy had left behind them." A full account of the siege is given in the same work, p. 168 ff.

[4] See Des Hayes (*Appendix* F) for the cost of hiring horses in his journey across Turkey.

[5] See note 4 on p. 65.

[6] *Kā'immakām*, deputy governor. Compare Des Hayes, *Voyage*

name of his office or deputieshipp). From hence Mr. Willson[1] licensed Tadux[2], his Servant, to returne to Constantinople. This Murrat[3] related unto mee hee hadd a Brother there, a Shoemaker, for the Common sort of Armenians are generally Shoemakers, Bakers and Porters, of whom alsoe the English serve themselves for Cooks. This his said brother requested him at his departure that att his returne hee would bringe him a wife of the daughters of the poore Christian Bullgarians, It beinge a Custome much used amongst them: And the Bulgarians are the willinger thereto, haveinge ever found the Armenians to have performed honestly with them in that kinde. Soe, accordinge to his brothers request, hee had made choyce of one att his comeinge downe, and now att his returne would carry her alonge with him, haveinge allready gotten her owne (with her father and mothers) consent. Thus the poore Christians trade, although they never sawe nor heard of each other before.

The manner of theis poore Bulgarians as farr as I could learne, is the Men generally Labourers, cloathed in white cloth, the weomen for the most part in Russett. The Virgins goe in theire haire, which hangeth downe behinde handsomely plaited, adding thereunto other haire to increase its length, alsoe upon theire heads and about their necke they have a great many shahees[4] and other

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de Levant, pp. 39 and 45, "Ce fut à Strigogne que nous apprismes l'ordre que le Caimacam avoit donne de faire desfrayer le Sieur Deshayes aux despens du grand Seigneur...le Sieur Des-hayes desira de visiter le Caimacam en l'absence du Bascha."

Compare also Knolles, *Historie of the Turkes*, pp. 1411 and 1457, "The Embassadour...desiring them that he would leave him a particular recommendation to the Chimacham or Deputy....The Spahees...discontent with the government of the old Chimacham." See also Della Valle, *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 77.

[1] See note 7 on p. 41.

[2] *i.e.* Thaddeus.

[3] See note 4 on p. 43.

[4] *Shāhī*, a small silver coin of Persia, worth about 4½d.

peeces of silver and brasse, which, by makeinge little holes in them, they sowe and weave together; Alsoe in theire Eares great earings of silver, whereof some weigh att least fower ounces the paire. They goe in their smocksleeves, which are very wide and wrought, although not very fine, and barefooted. The married weomen differ in this: they weare a linnen cloth plaited which hangeth downe behinde over the tresse of theire haire[1]. Att our passage through any village, theie would stand readie with hott Cakes, many of them, for they make noe bread but when they have occasion to use it, bakeing it in the Embers. Also milke sweete and sowre, fresh cheese, butter, Eggs, etts.[2], being brought to us by the youngest and prettiest wenches, among them: and if wee lodge neere any of theis villages, after they had brought us of theire provisions, then would they gather together younge Weomen and Children, and holding hand in hand in a round, they would daunce

[1] Compare Busbequius, *Travels into Turkey*, p. 27 f., "The Habit of these Bulgarian Women. They commonly wear nothing but a Smock or Shift, made of no finer Linnen-thread, than what we make Sacks of. And yet, these coarse Garments are wrought by them, with several sorts of strip'd Needle-work, after a homely Fashion: With this lose party-coloured Habit they mightily pleased themselves, so that when they saw our Shifts, made of the finest Linnen, yet they wondered at our Modesty, that we could be contented to wear them without various Works of divers Colours wrought in them. But that which I most of all admired in them, was the Tower, which they wore on their Heads...in that Space interjacent between their upper and lower Part, they hang Pieces of Coin, little Pictures or Images, small Parcels of painted Glass, or whatever is resplendent, though never so mean, which are accounted very ornamental among them."

[2] Compare Busbequius, *Travels into Turkey*, p. 27, "We continued our Journey, for many Days, through the pleasant, and not unfruitful Valley of Bulgaria; all the Time we were in that Country, we had little other Bread but only Cakes bak'd under Ashes upon the Hearth which they call Togatch. The Women and Maids sell them, for they have no Bakers in those parts; and when they perceive any Guests a-coming, that are likely to pay for what they have, presently they knead a little Dough, with Water, without any Leaven, and lay it upon Tiles, under the Ashes, and so bring it out piping hot, and sell them for a very small matter; other Victuals is also very cheap there, a good Weather-sheep may be bought for thirty-five Aspers; a Chicken and a Hen for an Asper, a sort of Coin with them of which fifty make but a Crown."

and sing very merrily, although with noe greate melodie. Theire Language neither Turkish nor Greeke[1], but like the Russian, for wee had a Russe[2] which served for our Interpreteur hereabouts.

The 7th. June, 1620. Wee departed from Belgrade, and dined by a Fountaine six myles in our waie, and four miles farther wee pitched and lay in the feilds. Too day Exceedinge hott.

The 8th. June, 1620. Att the end of eight miles wee dyned, and rested some three howres to passe away the heate of the day, after which wee passed two myles further, and remained in the feilds that Night.

The 9th. June, 1620. From our aforesaid feild lodginge wee came by Noone to a great Towne called Valliano (10 miles)[3], where by a Rivers side[4], which had two bridges, my Lord pitched his tent. Att our entrance into the Towne were twoe men on stakes throwne downe, halfe eaten with Doggs and Crowes. The Caddee sent us twenty men to watch with us all night, the place being somewhat dangerous for Theeves[5]. Heere wee had Cherries at a farthinge a pound.

The 10th. June, 1620. Att twenty miles end wee tooke upp our lodginge in the Feilds. This dayes travell proved some what easie, in regard the day was not very hott of it selfe, and the next, our waie beinge through shadie woods

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[1] Compare Busbequius, *Travels into Turkey*, p. 29, "They [the Bulgarians] use the Illyrian, or Slavonian Tongue, as the Servians and Rascians [District E. of Herzegovina, now Novibazar] also do."

[2] *i.e.* Teodoro. See p. 43.

[3] The modern Valjevo or Valievo. See Blount's remarks on this place quoted in *Appendix* A. Mundy from this point to Spalato becomes very difficult, and at times impossible, to follow, and seems to have frequently misjudged the distances in the mountains.

[4] The Kolubara, a tributary of the Save. From Belgrade the road follows the banks of the Save for some ten miles and then turns southwards into the valley of the Kolubara and its several affluents.

[5] See *Appendix* A for the precautions taken by Blount's caravan when passing through this district.

all that daie, ascendinge and descendinge pleasant mountains[1], which exceeded all others that ever I sawe for height and beautie, not steepie, but gentlie riseinge by degrees, the Topps being as good ground as the bottome and as firtill, these mightie Hills beinge full of prettie swellings, aboundinge with springs from the foote to the head, and Rivers in all the valleyes which run into the lowermost vallies of all[2]. Yett lyes this pleasant peece of Countrey in a manner waste, and growen with weeds and woods of exceeding high trees, as Oake, Maple, etts.[3], saveinge some fewe places heere and there, which poore Christians make use of for a little Tillage and keepeinge a few Cattle. Towards the end, wee descended a hill much more steepie then the rest, over against which was a huge mountainous Rock of an incredible height and steepienesse[4], betwene both which runne a River[5] with a Stone bridge, by which wee found such quantitie of good ripe Strawburryes as none of our Companie ever sawe the like, soe that a man might gather them by handfulls in a manner, Alsoe manie wilde

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[1] "Faire shadie woods, most pleasant, firtill, aspiring Mountaines." Author's marginal note. Pindar's train was now entering the mountain system of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the various chains of which connect the Dinaric Alps with the Albanian. They consist of short ridges and plateaus, generally running from N.W. to S.E., rising from 3000 to 5000 feet in height. Their slopes are covered with forests of pine, oak and beech. In a map of 1830 (B.M. 43625. 1) they are called the Zarugie Mountains. In a map of 1892 (B.M. 44250. 13) the elevated land (alp) west of Valjevo is called the Radjevo Planina and the Maljevo Planina.

[2] The route followed on this day, after leaving Valjevo, seems to have been up the Jablanitza, over the Medvednjik Planina, and down the Ljubowija.

[3] See Blount's remarks on this district in *Appendix* A.

[4] In a map of 1712 (B.M., K. 113. 15) the Crance Mountains are marked between the Kolubara and the Drina Rivers, and, in a map of 1876 (B.M., S. 238. 13), two peaks, named Jablanck and Medvednjik (3090 feet high), are marked in the same district, with a tributary of the Drina between them.

Here the author has a marginal note, "A steepie, ragged, Rockye mountaine."

[5] ?The Ljubowija.

Apple and Cherrie Trees. I doe remember that in a parcell of the Countrey wee past, the ground was neere covered with a kind of wilde redd rose of a perfect good smell and coulour, but single, growinge close to the ground on little Spriggs. Whether it was this day or noe I am not sure.

The 11th. June, 1620. Wee came to the River of Dreena (8 miles)[1], which runneth into Saba[2], formerly mentioned, beinge a stones cast over, very swifte and cleire, noe bridge, soe wee were ferried over by boate. Goeinge six miles further, wee came to a small brooke betwene two Hills, where wee dined and past the heat of the day. Neere to this place wee past by certaine howses and Mills (11 miles), which serve for the worke of a silver Myne in the Neighbouringe Mountaines[3]. Att the foote of one of them is a Cane, but wee pitched by it.

The 12th. June, 1620. In ascendinge the Mountaine (Ravena)[4], wee found it much higher then wee expected, beinge by computation about eight miles ascendinge and descendinge from the foote of the Hill on the other side[5]. Wee went twelve miles farther through a plaine where were

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[1] The Drina. In the *Itinerary of le Sieur Quiclet*, 1657—1658 (B.M. 4040. 1), there is the remark, "Drin, riviere, porte batteaux."

[2] The Save.

[3] These statements are difficult. They seem to refer to the Drina and Jadar Rivers, and to Srebreniza (*srebro*=silver), the site of the ancient silver, copper and lead mines.

[4] The "Romania Acheri" of the *Itinerary* (see above, note 1), the M. Romana of a map of 1687 (B.M., K. 113. 34) and the Romanja (Romania) Planina of Blau's map, *Routen in Bosnia und Herzegovina*, 1876.

[5] Compare Poullet's remarks on the road from Bosna Serai to Belgrade, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. pp. 123 and 125 f., "A une petite journée de Bosna, je me trouvay engagé au milieu des montagnes, qui sont fort hautes en ces quartiers, et estoient encore couvertes de neiges....Pendant huit ou dix jours que nous restâmes pour arriver à Bellegrade....Je n'y vis que de méchans villages, auprès desquels nous couchâmes, ou dans des Hans, ou à la campagne....On voit à deux journées de Bosna une petite riviere presque guayable par tout, appellée Yadra."

six or seven villages and many scatteringe dwellings, all made of wood, where was neither bread nor wyne, nor any thinge els to bee had but att very dear rates.

The 13th. June, 1620. From the afore mentioned place[1], for eight miles the way reasonable plaine, but from thence to the Cittie of Bosna Sarae, seven miles farther[2], very mountainous and rocky[3]. This Cittie lyeth among the Hills[4], upon one of which neere the same stands a Castle[5]. The howses heere in generall have theire walls of Clay, the rooffs of Timber, the people very bigg and tall, Att this tyme very discourteous to Francks by reason of a Controversie the Marchants of this Cittie have with the Venetians, too longe to bee here inserted[6]; whereupon my Lord forbadd anie to stirr out of doores, haveing taken a howse till wee gott other horses, the former being discharged, for whome wee paid aspers[7] 200 each from

[1] Apparently from the end of the plain in which were the villages and "scatteringe dwellings."

[2] Bosna Serai, the modern Sarajevo. This place, the ancient Tiberiopolis, derives its name from the Seraglio or palace built by Muhammad II. In a map of 1720 (B.M. 44250. 4) it is called Saraio, Sarayevo, Bosna Saraie, Bosna Argentina or Bistue Nova. See Blount's remarks on the place in *Appendix* A, and Mundy's comments thereon.

Sarajevo is 122 miles south-west of Belgrade. Pindar and his train accomplished the distance in seven days, an average of 17½ miles per day, as against the 21 miles per day from Constantinople to Belgrade. See note 1 on p. 72.

[3] The hills round Sarajevo rise to a height of 5250 feet.

[4] Sarajevo is 1770 feet above the sea.

[5] The castle, now a ruin, was built by the Hungarian general, Cotroman, in 1263. See Blount's remarks in *Appendix* A.

[6] The dispute between the Bosnians and the Venetians was owing to the piracies of the Uscocs, a people of Dalmatia. The Pasha of Bosnia accused the Venetians of complicity in the outrages of 1613. For some years, relations between the Porte and Venice continued to be strained and war was only averted with difficulty. For a full account of the Uscocs and the protection given to them by Austria, see Wilkinson, *Dalmatia and Montenegro*, vol. ii. pp. 352, 384 ff. and 429.

[7] See note 2 on p. 27. Compare Thévenot, *Travels into the Levant*, Part i. p. 67, "The Aspers are little pieces of Silver that have no other stamp but the Grand Signior's Name, and are worth

Belgrade hither. Heere are about 50 Turkish Churches[1], and as many water mills driven by one Brooke[2], lyeinge one lower then another, each haveinge but one little wheele, which the water turneth, the Axeltree of which is fixed in the Millstone it selfe[3].

The 16th. June, 1620. Haveinge heere hired horses for Spalatra[4] att 170 aspees per horse, wee departed and came to Pasaricke (10 miles)[5], our way betwene Mountaines, and from thence to Evan[6], the way also mountainous and rocky.

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about eight Deniers, or three Farthings a piece, but there are many of them Counterfeit, and one must have a care of that; so that to receive half a crown in them, it requires half a quarter of an hour to examine the Pieces one after another; but great payments require whole days."

[1] Blount gives the number as about eighty. See *Appendix* A. Compare Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. pp. 83 and 103, "Cette ville de Bosna est la Capitale d'un des plus considerables Pachalies, et fort raisonablement grande, beaucoup plus longue que large, et enfoncée entre deux montagnes vers le Septentrion. Elle a quantite de Mosquees, couvertes de plomb, et eslevées en dome.... Cette ville n'a presque plus que quelques pieces de murailles ruinées, et est tres desagreable à voir par dedans...."

[2] The Miljacka or Miljatzka, a tributary of the Bosna.

[3] Compare Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 104, L'extrémité de Bosna vers Belgrade, est eslevée sur une colline, d'où il descend un petit ruisseau; lequel est tellement conduit, qu'il fait du moins tourner cinquante moulins d'un mesme cours. Ils sont industrieusement placez par étage, les uns au dessous des autres, que la mesme eau fait tout moudre. La rouë sur laquelle elle tombe, n'est pas posée sur le costé de l'edifice, comme elle est parmy nous, mais tout au bas, et mise de plat, sur un pivot contre terre, ayant son étendue, parallele a l'horison, et faisant la mesme figure que fait une pirouette tournée sur une table." This form of mill is still in use. For the water-mills at Belgrade, see *ante*, p. 72 f.

[4] Spalato. "Spalatra, a place in the Venetian gulff." Author's *Index*.

[5] Pazaric or Pasaritj is fifteen and a half miles from Sarajevo on the Sarajevo-Mostar railway. In the *Itinerary of le Sieur Quiclet* in 1658 (B.M. 44040. 1) the place is given as Bazarick, in a map of 1720 (B.M. 44250. 4) as Pasarick or Bazaritch, and in a map of 1806 (B.M., K. 113. 34) as Bocaritz.

[6] *i.e.* Ivan. The Ivan Planina is a ridge separating the valleys of the Lepenica and Narenta rivers. The village of Ivan, or Jora Ivan, twenty-four miles from Sarajevo, is on the top of the ridge. In the *Itinerary*, mentioned above, Mont Yvan is given, and, in a map of 1720 (B.M. 44250. 4) we have Mont St Jean or Mont Yvan.

The 17th. June, 1620. Wee came to Coneetza (8 miles)[1], a good Towne, before which runneth a prettie River named Neretria[2], cleire, greenish and verye swift, makeinge a great Noyse as it passeth among the Hills. Wee kept our way alongst by it to Leeseecheechee (2 miles)[3], where wee dined, then continued our course yett by the said River a good space till it tooke another waie, where the River Ramatha[4] ran into it, and goeinge one hower by the said Ramatha, wee crost it by a bridge, then lefte it and began to ascend an exceedinge highe Mountaine and steepy[5], soe that in divers places were rayles of wood, that Horses with Carriage might not fall and perrish. When wee came to the descent, thinckinge to discover some plaine Countrie, wee sawe an other mountaine right before us, adjoyninge to this, altogether soe high, but much more steepy, beinge one entyre Masse of a Rocke, most strange and fearefull to behold[6]. Betwene theis twoe is a little valley, wherein is a little village (15 miles), and two little Rivers, which comeinge contrary wayes, meete, and both together sincke

[1] Konjica, or Konitza, on the Neretva or Narenta, thirty-five miles from Sarajevo. Poullet, in his map (1658), has Conitha. A map of 1720 (B.M. 44250. 4) has Cogniz or Comitha, and a map of 1830 (B.M. 43625. 1) has Sconicza.

[2] The B.M. copy of Mundy's *Travels*, *Harl. MS.* 2286, has "Neretna."

[3] The author's distance is wrong. Lisicici is seven and a half miles from Konjica.

[4] *i.e.* to Rama at the junction of the Rama and the Narenta. It is, like the preceding places, on the Sarajevo-Mostar railway. Pindar's train next proceeded south-westwards to Spalato over the Prologh Mountains.

[5] Here the author has a marginal note, "Dowlany Hills, vid: Fo: 1." The remark refers to the extracts from Blount in *Appendix* A.

In a map of 1720 (B.M. 27730. 1) Dogliani Mountain is marked on the north of Sarajevo, but the author, by his "Dowlany Hills," seems to mean the heights surrounding the valley of the Doljanca or Doljani, a tributary of the Rama, and to give this name to all the hills drained by the Rama itself.

[6] Here the author has a marginal note, "A wonderfull high Steepie Rockye mountaine, the strangest wee yet saw. Dowlanee Fo: 1." The party most probably passed the night somewhere near Prosor.

right downe among the gravell. I could not learne whereabouts they rise againe.

The 18th. June, 1620. Departinge from Dowlanee, wee began our Journey through more of the said huge Rock, some in a manner threatninge to overwhelme us. Wee came to a plaine called Borvagaglava[1], where wee dyned. Before wee came to this plaine, wee ascended another high mountaine, which had little descent to bee perceived, the plaine begininge from the topp of the said Mountaine, where wee found it very cold, it standinge very high[2]. On either side were other Hills whose topps were covered with Snowe, with Forrests of Pine trees and a little farther were whole woods of them cutt downe to the ground[3], To prevent Theeves that usually lurked amonge them[4]. Heere were feedinge great store of horses, kyne, sheepe and swine. From thence into a wood, and then into another plaine[5] environed with stonie barren hills, though in the plaine were store of villages and other dwellings. Att the end of this plaine (10 miles) wee remained all night by a fountain called Bresneeg[6].

The 19th. June, 1620. Wee dyned by a great Lake[7],

[1] Borovaglava, a plateau of the Prologh Mountains. Pindar and his party appear to have followed the ancient Gabinian way over the Prologh Mountains, a part of the Dalmatian Alps, and thence, across the river Cettina to Spalato. In a map of 1780 (B.M. 44290. 6) Borovaglava appears as Buscova Draga. In a map of 1878 (B.M. 43625. 9) Boroylawa Han is marked. The party probably started from Prosor.

[2] Here the author has a marginal note, "An admirable Plaine." The other "high mountain" may be the "Mt. Militsch" of a map of 1806 (B.M., K. 113. 34).

[3] The British Museum copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, has "hewen to the ground."

[4] Here, in the *Rawlinson MS.*, is inserted a double-page map of Italy by Hondius, dated 1631, with Mundy's route from Spalato to Turin and also his Mediterranean voyage (described in *Relation* I.) marked in red dotted lines.

[5] ? The Duvno Polje.

[6] Probably a spring in the neighbourhood of Livno.

[7] Mundy's "great lake" is shown, but not named, in a map of 1811 (B.M., K. 113. 23). It is most probably the Semaroromo Blato

the way soe stoney and rockey that wee past with a great deale of trouble. Att night wee rested in a Cane neere a River side, of a marvelous slowe motion[1]. Noe water from the lake to this place, heere being also a fountaine by the Cane[2].

The 20th. June, 1620. Crossinge over the said River[3] by boate, wee stayed and dined under a Turkish Garrison Castle (Keeleesh, 7 miles), built on a high cragked Rock[4]; from thence a miles further to an other Castle of Turks, Loucharick[5], lately taken from the Venetians, haveinge yett their Armes over the gates, And one Mile beyond that is a Stone sett betwene the Venetian and Turkish Dominions. Wee were noe sooner past it, but wee entred into Christendome, then seeminge to bee in a new World, such was the

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or Zrni Lug in the Livanjsko Polje, E. of the Prologh Planina, seen in flood. But it might be the Rusko Blato (Lake), S. of Livno. The distance to the Cettina by either route would be about the same.

[1] The Cettina. Here the author has a marginal note, "Cheteena, a river."

[2] The *Khān* would probably be either at Petricevic or at Trilj, according to the route taken over the Prologh Planina.

[3] *i.e.* the Cettina.

[4] Here the author has a marginal note "Keeleesh, a garrison Vid: Fol: 1." This refers to the extracts from Blount in *Appendix* A. "Keeleesh" is Mundy's spelling; Blount calls the place Clyssi. The author has underestimated its distance from the Cettina. Clissa (Klīsh), a fortress famed from early times, for its strong position, lies two and a quarter miles E.N.E. from Salona. For its history, see Wilkinson, *Dalmatia and Montenegro*, vol. i. p. 173 and vol. ii. pp. 293, 351; and Yriarte, *Les Bords de l'Adriatique et le Monténégro*, p. 283 f.; Compare De Bauveau, *Relation Journalière du Voyage du Levant*, p. 4, "Passant plus outre [in 1604] nous laissasmes... Clysse, forteresse appartenant aux Turcz." Clissa is one of the five Hungarian royal castles depicted by Spanyi in the dining-room of the House of Magnates at Budapest.

[5] This appears to be a copyist's error for Soucharick *i.e.* Suçuraz. Castel Suçuraz or Suçurac is one of the sixteen Venetian Castles constructed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as places of refuge. If, by Loucharick, Suçuraz is intended, the author can only mean that he passed it at a distance, for Suçuraz is not on the direct road from Clissa to Spalato, but lies on the sea shore north of Salona. There is no modern name between Clissa and Spalato which would correspond with Mundy's Loucharick. For Suçuraz, see Wilkinson, *Dalmatia and Montenegro*, vol. i. p. 173.

alteration wee found[1], not only in the Inhabitants, but also in the Soyle; for, for three dayes before, wee sawe nothinge but rockey, barren, stoney ground, scarce any Corne, tree, or greene thing to bee perceived, excepting in the vallies. But heere it was otherwise. For a man hath scarcely seene, or could immagine a more fertill peece of ground or delightsome prospect, for of the very stones, of which there are aboundance, being a great hindrance to any soyle, they turned them by their Industrie to as great a furtherance and benefitt by makeinge of them pertitions, like walls, instead of hedges. And the feilds are soe well manured[2] that it is impossible almost it could bee putt to better use that waie; for in the Middst of their Cornefeilds (they being then reapinge), were rancks in the Furrowes of Olive trees, Pomgranett Trees, Pines and figg trees, And this even to the gates of Spalatra[3], beinge about three miles from the marke aforementioned. It lyeth on the Sea side, here abouts beinge many ruines of Castles and buildings, and many watch Towers on the hills alongst the sea Coast[4]. Att our arrivall heere, wee were conducted to a Lazaretto, It being a Custome that all Travellors, whether they come from this or other parts, are to abide some certaine dayes, vizt. forty, thirty, twenty, fifteen, some more, some lesse, within the said Lazaretto before they are permitted to proceede to Venice, or to commerce with any of their Subjects, there beinge the like in all their

[1] Here the author has a marginal note, "Christendome, an admirable chaunge."

[2] "Excellent husbandry." Author's marginal note.

[3] Spalato or Spljet (Aspalathos=? Palatium) was built within the precincts of Diocletian's palace in A.D. 303. Here the author refers to his extracts from Blount, "Spalatra, vid: Fol: 1." For these, see *Appendix* A. For an account of Spalato, see Yriarte, *Les Bords de l'Adriatique et le Monténégro*, pp. 240 ff.

[4] See note 5 on p. 85. These "Castles and watch Towers" were erected by nobles, on land given to them by the Venetians, as places of refuge for the peasants during the wars with the Turks. See Wilkinson, *Dalmatia and Montenegro*, vol. i. p. 173.

Dominions, and in most parts of Italy, especially Sea ports, which they doe to prevent Infection[1]. My Lord had one of the said Lazarettoes to himselfe wholey, there beinge roomes sufficient for himselfe and company, when presently was sent us in beddinge, lynnen, Tables, Chaires and necessaries, but not soe to every one. Also fresh Victualls, soe that wee wanted nothing but libertie, for noe man may stirr out of doores till his tyme bee out, which they never come to knowe till it bee accomplished, Wee haveing a Guardian or Keeper to the outward Doore, as well to see wee wanted nothinge, as also that noe man must come in nor goe out, neither to approach within three or four yards of any man. Att night our Guardian is shutt in with us, and the key carried away. This Afternoone the Counte or Earle of this place came to visit my Lord, th' one sittinge without the gate, and thother within, a good way a sunder, where, after some welcomes and Complements enterchaunged, they departed.

The 22th. [*sic*] *June*, 1620. The Counte came again to visit my Lord, of whome hee obteyned leave for John Clarke[2] to goe forth, being to send him to Venice, there to provide a howse and accommodation against his arrivall; soe hee departed that day. But first hee was washed in the Sea, afterwards with Vineger, then, haveinge another suite of Clothes brought him, was licensed, and that eveninge tooke his passage in a Boate for Venice.

The 29th. June, 1620. To day wee had Prattick[3], which is leive to goe forth, wee haveinge bene but the Tenth day in all, which tyme is very short in regard of the ordinary continuancyes, but herein his Lordshipp was greatly

[1] Here the author has a marginal note, "A Lazaretto, what it is and wherefore ordained." Venice took the lead in measures to prevent the spread of the plague, and as early as 1348, appointed three officers of health. The first Venetian Lazaretto was founded in 1403.

[2] One of Pindar's servants. See p. 43.

[3] See note 2 on p. 17. See also Sandys, *Travels*, p. 5.

favoured. The Counte came and Invited him home to his howse, where hee dyned with the Gentlemen. The Towne is strongly built, furnished with many soldiers and many brave, stout edifices, although auntient.

Mr Lane[1] hired a barke of Tenn Tonnes for my Lord and his Company, the Frenchmen haveing hired another for themselves; and that night, haveing gotten a Certificate of Contamacia[2], or our abideinge, wee sett saile with a faire winde, and before day wee past by Zara, a Venetian Garrison Towne[3], where are said to bee 400 English Souldiers[4].

The 30th. June, 1620. With a soft Gaile of Wynde wee kept along the Shoare of Dalmatia, alwaies among small Islands, verie stoney and barren, as the Mayne seemed to bee.

The first July, 1620. By noone wee came to Osoro (170 miles)[5], a towne seated in a narrowe straight betwene two Islands[6], where boats must passe or saile a great way about, here being a Drawbridge att the passage it selfe[7],

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[1] See note 2 on p. 42.

[2] *Far la contumacia* is a nautical expression meaning, To perform quarantine. Compare Fanfani, *Vocabulario della Lingua Italiana* (1855) s.v. *Contumacia:* "*Far la contumacia o Star in contumacia dicesi delle persone e delle mercantie che per alcun determinato tempo si tengono in luogo separato per sospetto di peste.*" That is to say, the above expressions are used of persons or goods kept apart for some fixed time on suspicion of the plague.

[3] See Blount's description of Zara in *Appendix* A. Compare Lithgow, *Painefull Peregrinations*, p. 48, "Zara is the capitall city of Dalmatia, called of old Jadara. There lye continually in it a Great Garrison of Souldiers to defend the towne and Cittizens who are maintained by the Duke of Venice; for he is Signior thereof."

See also De Bauveau, *Relation Journalière du Voyage du Levant*, p. 4; Du Loir, *Voyages*, p. 357; Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, vol. i. p. 21.

[4] The detachment of English soldiers, which had been sent out in 1618 for the assistance of the Venetian Republic, was under the command of Sir Henry Peyton. See p. 92.

[5] Ossero, on the south-west of the island of Cherso. Compare Lithgow, *Painefull Peregrinations*, p. 47, "Valdogosto in the Isle of Osero, which is a safe haven for ships and Gallies." The Island of Lussin was often called Ossero from the prominent Monte Ossero on the North of it.

[6] The narrow Canal d'Ossero which separates Cherso from Lussin.

[7] Cherso and Lussin are united by a bridge called La Cavanella.

16
UNDY'S ROUTE
IN
ITALY
English Miles
20
50
100
46
44
42
Zara
Spalato
D a l m a t i a
S E A
16
Compiled for
John Bartholomew & Co. 1907.

where wee noated that Current ran a quarter of an hower one waie and a quarter the other.

The 2nd. July, 1620. Crossinge a Gulfe[1], wee came to the Cape of Istria (50 miles)[2], and eighteen miles farther, wee passed betwene a little Island[3] and the Mayne, there being a prettie harbour with a little Towne[4]; But by reason of a Gallygrosse or Galleasse[5] there rideinge, it was thought provision would bee scarse. Theis Gallyasses in shape doe resemble a small Gally, but much bigger, And whereas an ordinary Gally hath only Ordinance on her fore Castle, which exceede not six or eight att most, theis have them before and aloft and also betwene every Oare, soe that they carry fifty or sixty peeces of Ordinance[6]. Haveing spoken with her, wee sett forward and came to a very prettie Towne, called Rovigno (12 miles), where, att our arrivall, the Captaine of the place invited his Lordshipp and Gentlemen home to his howse.

The 3rd. July, 1620. Towards night, the wynde comeing faire, wee sett saile from Rovigno, and the next day by noone, cuttinge over a gulfe[7], wee came to the Cittie of Venice, and entred by St. Jno. Delio[8], where the boate

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[1] The Gulf of Quarnero.

[2] Now generally known as the Punta di Promontore.

[3] Brioni.

[4] Through the Canale di Fasana. "The prettie harbour with a little Towne" was Pola.

[5] *i.e.*, a great galley. A galleass was a heavy low-built vessel, larger than a galley, having both sails and oars, and was chiefly employed in war. See Murray, *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. Galiegross and Galliass. Compare Bargrave's *Voyages and Journeys* (*Rawl. MS.* C. 799), fol. 20, "The [Turkish] Fleet [in 1649]...consisted then of about 60 Gallies and Gally-grosses and 30 Shipps."

[6] Compare Chiswell, *Travels*, 1696 (*Add. MS.* 10623), fol. 20 f., "April 26th Venice...The Arsinall...here wee saw a Galiasse near finished, they are very great and unwieldy Vessels, carrying 700 Souldiers and Seamen, besides 300 rowers, and are mounted with 32 brass demi Cannon."

[7] The Gulf of Venice.

[8] St. Jno. Delio appears to be a mistake for S. Andrea del Lido, since Port Lido, one of the three main entrances into the lagoons,

of the Sanita mett with us, and our Certificate of Contamacia being firmed by gli signiorii de la Sanita[1], wee had leave to goe whether wee would. Soe passing betwene the two Castles, then which there is noe other way for boats and Gallyes[2], wee came by St. Markes

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is bounded by Fort S. Andrea on the right and Fort S. Nicolo on the left. See Admiralty Chart 1886 (B.M., Sec. V. 1483).

In a map of 1648 (B.M., K. 75, 78 a) Port Lido is marked as Porto di Venetia, and in a map of 1820 (B.M. 22665. 2) it appears as Porto di Niccolo del Lido. Bargrave, *Voyages and Journeys* (*Rawl. MS.* C. 799), fol. 161, speaks of the "barr of Lio," and Chiswell, *Travels*, (*Add. MS.* 10623), fol. 21, calls the Castle of Lido, *i.e.* Sant' Andrea, the "Key of Venice."

[1] See note 2 on p. 88. The following interesting allusion to *Contumacia* occurs in Bargrave's *Voyages and Journeys* (*Rawl. MS.* C. 799), fol. 171, "We...anchord...near ten miles distant from the City of Venice. The next day I went to the Sanita (or Health-house) where I was soon dismissed with my sentence from the Lords della Sanita, who in regard we came from Turky (which is allways taken for an infectious Shoar) we must attend our full Quarantine for Prattick; Yet I had not doubted of more speedy admission, had not a Venetian Mariner amongst us...sent into the City a bed of Wooll... and Divers infallibly had suffred but that with bribes to some powerfull Officers they were perswaded to countenance a framd Excuse and only punishd us with suffring the extremitie of 43 dayes Contumacia." See also Coryat's remarks on "Bills of Health," *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 214.

[2] In a plan of Venice of 1620 (B.M., S. 69. 12) Porta delli dua castelli is marked, the "dua castelli" being il castel novo (Sant' Andrea) on the right or N.E. entrance into the Porto di Lido and Fortezza nova on the left or S.W. These seem to be the two castles mentioned by the author. S. Pietro da Castello appears in a plan of 1630 (B.M. 22670. 3). In a plan of 1705 (B.M. 22670. 18) the Canal du Chateau is marked between the Church of St Marie des Vierges on the right and the Church and Castle of St Pierre on the left. Again, in a map *circ.* 1700 (B.M., K. 75, 80), Li due Castelli o Lido are marked; in 1780 (B.M. 22665. 3) we have Castel S. Andrea and S. Pietro di Castello; in 1850 (B.M. 22665. 4) we have the Porto del Lido marked with Castel S. Andrea on the right and F. del Lido on the left; lastly, in the Admiralty Chart of 1851 (B.M., Sec. V. 1483) we find the Forteresse et Porto de Lido with S. Andrea on the right. Hence, it seems clear that Mundy entered Venice by the Port of Lido and passed between the Fort of S. Andrea and the Fort known at different periods as S. Pietro, Lido and S. Nicolo.

Compare Bargrave's *Voyages and Journeys* (*Rawl. MS.* C. 799), fol. 160, "The most incomparable Situation of Venice preserved from the Violence of the Seae by a barr of land, which lies before it, placed by Providence as a Guard to defend it, having only three narrow passes through it to let in such Vessells as themselves please, whiles others have no possibilitie of Entrance and so dangerous is the Shoare

place[1], then to Canalgrande, soe to Rioalto bridge[2], where wee strooke our mast to passe under: Lastly to Canalregio[3], where wee stayed and landed all our stuffe att a verie faire howse, which John Clarke[4] had provided, and most richly furnished with hangings, bedds, tables, all rich, and curious chaires, linnen, aboundance of plate and necessaries, the howse beinge as curious within as it was faire without, the Chimnye peeces of fine marble, beinge statues of Godds and Goddesses, all of most excellent Carved worke, which did wonderfully adorne the roomes. Also a curious garden full of fine devices and marble Images. This howse belonginge to one of the Privillees[5], beinge of the Nobillitie, himselfe att present in Goverment att Candy[6]. There was paid to the overseer for use of the house for

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without the Barr that Every Storme drives a ship to certain Ruine, so that no Enemies can anchor there to hinder the City from Supplies; Neither can the smallest boats come to it from the Terra firma, but by narrow Channells, in which from severall little mounts used on purpose, a few men may stop the Passage to a Multitude of Enemies."

[1] For a contemporary description of Venice, see *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. pp. 300 ff. and Bargrave's *Voyages and Journeys* (*Rawl. MS.* C. 799), fols. 159—162.

[2] The Ponte di Rialto (Rivo alto) was built in 1588. Compare *Rawl. MS.* D. 120 (*Travels* by an anonymous author in 1649), "Venice...On the most part of this city runnes water so that you may goe all by water in boates called gundilowes of which there are as is reported 80000. The great bridge is called ponto realtoo which for one arch is the largest and biggest that I have seene."

Compare also *Rawl. MS.* C. 799, fol. 162, "The Rialto Bridge famous above all for the Stately Single Arch it is built on."

[3] *i.e.* the Cannaregio, or Canale di Mestre, N.E. of the Canal Grande. Many important buildings were erected on both banks. Mundy's description of the route taken is strictly accurate.

[4] John Clarke was released from quarantine at Spalato on the 22nd of June. See p. 87.

[5] The author appears to mean that the owner of the house rented by Pindar was a member of the privileged classes at Venice. The word "Privillees" is probably coined from *privilegio*.

[6] Candia was at this time a Venetian possession. In 1667 it was besieged by the Turks, and, after an obstinate resistance, was compelled to surrender to the Osmāns in 1669. The Governor General of Candia in 1612 was Girolamo Capello, but it is doubtful if he were still holding the same office in 1620.

two monethes, if hee remained soe longe, 100 Venetian Ducketts[1] att 4s. English each, and to Jewes[2] for hyre of the furniture, plate, etts., 200 Ducketts more.

The 4th. July, 1620. Came Sir Henry Payton (Collonell of the English Companies which now serve the Venetians)[3] to visitt his Lordshipp with divers other English Captaines in his Company, vizt. Captaine Lucy[4], Captaine Theobalds[5], Captaine Manneringe[6], Captaine

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[1] "The Old Ducat of Venice, with the words *Ducatus Venetus* upon it, a Piece of 6 old Livres, afterwards raised I think to 6 Livres 4 Sols de Piccoli, 40·5od." Sir Isaac Newton's Tables, in Kelly's *Universal Cambist*, vol. ii. p. 155. This makes the value of a Ducat to be 3s. 4½d. in the eighteenth century as against Mundy's estimate of 4s. in the seventeenth century.

Compare *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 423, "Now whereas the Venetian duckat is much spoken of you must consider that this word duckat doth not signifie any one certaine coyne. But many severall pieces doe concurre to make one duckat, namely sixe livers and two gazets, which doe countervaille foure shillings and eight pence of our money. So that a duckat is sometimes more sometimes lesse."

[2] For the position of the Jews in Venice in the seventeenth century, see Yriarte, *Venice*, p. 41 f.

[3] Sir Henry Peyton was appointed to the command of the soldiers sent out to assist the Venetian Republic in 1618. From the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 30 March 1718, we learn that "The Venetian Ambassador prepares eight ships; he will have a Venetian Admiral, but the real command will rest between Sir Henry Peyton and Sir Henry Mainwaring." Among the *State Papers, Foreign, Venice*, vol. 22, there are several letters from Sir Henry Peyton. In June 1619 (fol. 130) he writes of the soldiers taken from Zara and in December of the same year (fol. 172) he writes from Spalato of "disorders" between "two of their ships." In February and June of 1620 Peyton is mentioned as being at Venice (*ib.* vol. 23). He died *circ.* 1622. For an account of his career, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[4] I have been unsuccessful in tracing the parentage of this individual, who probably belonged to the family made notorious by Shakspeare's youthful escapade.

[5] This individual seems to be identical with the Captain Henry Theobalds, mentioned in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, under date 28 February 1625 (p. 486) as follows:—"The King to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex. Requires them to deliver certain reprieved prisoners in Newgate to Captain Henry Theobalds, to serve as soldiers in the Low Countries."

[6] See *ante*, n. 3. Captain (afterwards Sir) Henry Mainwaring had made himself notorious in 1616 by taking a ship from Joachim Wardeman of Lubeck, who brought a suit against him. In 1617, Mainwaring was pardoned, and, in 1618, he (the "late pirate") was

Tokely[1], etts., they liveing in Venice and their Soldiers att Zara[2].

The 20th. July, 1620. The Spanish Ambassador came to visitt his Lordshipp[3], and the next day my Lord went to him.

The 24th. July, 1620. The Duke of Savoyes Ambassador[4] came to congratulate his Lordshipps safe arrivall, and the next day my Lord gave him Correspondence; the English Captaines every day came one or other.

The 27th. July, 1620. I went with a freind to see the famous Arsenall, a place of about two myles in compasse, walled round, haveinge but one entrance for a Gally to goe in or out, there beinge within water for two or three hundred to ride afloate. Here is alsoe about one hundred great roomes open att both ends for building new Gallyes, where were some on the Stocks; from thence to the place where they cast Ordinance: Then to great Store howses, of which there are many full of the said Ordinance, ready mounted on Carriages. In others were Gunns dismounted, others full of Carriages ready made, others with bullets piled in seemely order[5]. Wee were likewise shewed where

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given the sub-command of the "Venetian troops." See *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1616—1618, pp. 359, 425, 530, and 531. The order for "Sir Henry Mainwaring's shipp" to serve Venice was given on the 31st March 1618; *State Papers, Foreign, Venice*, vol. 22.

[1] I have found no further mention of this individual.

[2] These "soldiers" came from England in 1618. See *ante*, pp. 88 and 92. On the 21st August, 1620, the troops from Zara arrived at Venice, and were ordered to go to Lombardy. *State Papers, Foreign, Venice*, vol. 23.

[3] The Spanish Ambassador at Venice in 1619 was Don Alfonso della Queva. *Add. MS.* 27332, fol. 109.

[4] On the 9th February, 1618, there is a mention of the arrival at Venice of Biscina, an extraordinary ambassador from the Duke of Savoy. *State Papers, Foreign, Venice*, vol. 22.

[5] Compare *A Journall of a voyage thro France and Italy* (*Sloane MS.* 2142) under date 16 April 1659, "Wee went to see the Arsinal A place most famous for the multitude of all things necessary belong[ing] to sea and Land. It is at one end of the City engirt about with a

they made Anchors, Cables and ropes, Rudders, Oares, Masts, yards, all sort of Iron for gallies, ground saltpeter, Planck, Sawyers, etts., with ware howses where every of the aforementioned lay ready made. Then went Wee upp staires, where were very faire halls, hung on both sides with Armour from the head to the Knees, others with swords, Musketts Pikes and Targetts to a very great number; other halls with munition for fifty Gallies; in each Hall their being fifty pertitions, and in every of them soe many Guns with match, swords, Pikes, etts. sufficient for one Gallie. In other halls were new sailes ready made for soe many gallies, and as some spend, there are others made new in their roomes, which are sowen by weomen[1], of whome there were att present greate Companies att worke[2]. Divers other things there were worth notice which to perticularize would require much tyme, As sondry sorts of auncient Armes, also compleat Armours of certen famous men reserved there for a Monument; All theis,

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great Wall. It is counted three mile in circuite, there being continually both in peace and warre some 2000 men at worke. It was the saying of A great General belonging to Charles the fifth that he had rather have the Arsenal in his power then four of the best Cittyes in Italy. Here are places for Artilery, of powder, of Armes, of Corslets, of pikes and al sortes of Armes both for defence and offense both for sea and land. Here is a very fine Armory and without doubt the best in Italy, being armes enough for 60000 horse and foote, and for above 30000 men at sea."

[1] Compare "A true Description of what is most worthy to be seen in all Italy, orderly set down, and in sure Manner," &c. &c., in *The Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v., "Venice. The House of Artillery...Go up the Stairs, and you shall come into a Room, wherein are two hundred Old Women, daily mending old Sails, and sometimes, when need requires, there are seven hundred daily working."

[2] The author has a long marginal note on the Arsenal which runs as follows:—"The Arsenall, severall places wherein (1) they build gallies, (2) cast Ordinance, (3) where they keepe them mounted, (4) dismounted, (5) carriages, (6) Bulletts, (7) they made Cables, (8) Anchers, (9) masts, yards, oares, Rudders, etts. (10) iron worke, (11) plancks, sawyers, warehouses full. Severall halls aloft full of Armour, vizt., Swords, Pikes, musketts, targetts etts., also munition for gallies, sales."

with the aforesaid kept cleane and in Excellent good Order[1]. Then were wee brought to the Bucentero[2], a vessell like a Gallye, but shorter, thicker and higher, whereon is shewed the uttermost of Art for carved Worke, that being over layed with Gold, soe that when shee is in the Water, shee appeares to be all of pure gold. Shee hath twoe decks. On the Lowermost sitt the Rowers, and aloft sitts the duke himselfe in a Stately seate made in her very Sterne, and the Senators on each side, This Decke beinge Curiously inlayd with a Carved guilded rooffe or false deck overhead. In this vessell goeth the Duke and Nobillitie of Venice to marrie the Sea, an auntient Custome observed every yeare on Assention Day, Thus:— They are rowed to a certaine place about two or three miles out of Venice, where the Duke letteth downe in the water a rich ringe by a stringe, holding it soe untill the Clergie that goe with him have made an end of their Ceremonies. Then hee draweth it upp againe, and soe it is finished[3]. Then they retourne with the greatest musicke and Triumph they can Invent, there goeinge in Company divers other vessells to assist the Marriage, all very

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[1] For the history of the Arsenal see Yriarte, *Venice*, p. 46 ff. Compare the following descriptions of the place:—"The next thing that is worthy of notice is the arsenall (which the world cannot equall) environed with a wall and with the sea into which you enter onely by one channell and by one gate. Its two miles in circuite. There are armes for 150000 men and they are able to set forth in a weeke 150 galleyes besides Gallyasses. There workes dayly 2880 men which are constantly payed by the state." *Rawl. MS.* D. 120, fol. 28 (*Travels* by an anonymous author in 1649).

"The Arsinall so famous throughout the world, is about two miles in Circumference, and strongly walled Round, Wherein they say that 2500 Men are continally kept at worke...the Magazine of small Armes is very large and Neatly kept." Chiswell, *Travels*, 1696 (*Add. MS* 10623), fol. 20.

[2] See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 359.

[3] "This by relation of others." Author's marginal note, which is omitted in the British Museum copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286. Mundy was not in Venice during Ascension week.

gallantly sett forth[1]. Also when there arriveth any forraigne Prince or great Ambassador, the said Bucentoro is sent to bring him in. All the rest of the tyme shee is layed upp dry in a great buildinge, and besides covered over with a linnen Cloth.

To Conclude with the Arsenall, Haveinge all materialls readye Cutt, measured, squared and framed to their hands, they are able in few dayes to build, rigg, furnish, arme and sett forth a good fleete of gallies[2]. In this Arsenall there dwells none but the Guardians or the Keepers, the workemen goeing forth every night, and returne in the morninge, the Powder made without, neither may any man goe in without lycense or favour. This place in my opinion is

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[1] Compare the following allusions to the Marriage of the Doge of Venice to the Adriatic Sea.

1616. "Venice. The Duke of this Adriatick Queene, espouseth the sea, every Ascension day, by casting a golden ring into it, Which Stultitious ceremony by Pope Alexander the third was graunted, when he fled to Venice for succour, being persecuted by Fredericke Barbarossa." Lithgow, *Painefull Peregrinations*, p. 40.

1649. "Heere allso is that Busentowre a gally in which the duke goes to marry the Sea." *Rawl. MS.* D. 120, fol. 28 (*Travels* by an unknown author).

1655. "Their Ceremonies upon Ascension day, when theyr Gallie-gross of State (calld Buggeàn d'or) is lanchd to Seae, a vessell most richly adornd, and rowed by a multitude of men on the lower Deck unseen, whiles the upper Deck is covred, as it were, with a rich Canopy of Gold, borne (towards the Sterne) upon the Shoulders of Slaves, most artificially resembled in Statues, which lively imitate the paine they suffer under the burden, and under this Canopy is Carried the Doge (the Duke of Venice) and the whole Senate of Venice as farr as the barr of Lio, attended by innumerable Peottas and Gondolas filld with Gallants and Ladies...the maine Ceremonie is the espousing of the Senat to the Seae, which is effected by the Duke throwing a ring into the Seae, at which action are let fly immediatly from the adjacent Forts great Gunns and fireworkes without Count." Bargrave, *Voyages and Journeys*, *Rawl. MS.* C. 799, fol. 161.

1696. "The Vessell called the Baucentoro, whereon the Doge and Senate upon Ascention day performe the Ceremony of Marrying the Sea." Chiswell, *Travels*, *Add. MS.* 10623, fol. 21.

The Ceremony of "marrying the Adriatic" dates from 1174. It was enjoined by Pope Alexander III. after the victory of the Venetians, under Doge Sebastiano Ziani, over the fleet of Frederick Barbarossa. The last Bucentaur was destroyed by the French in 1797.

[2] "What great preparation may be done on the suddaine." Author's marginal note.

the most worthy notice of all that is in Venice[1], although there bee other which deserve some observation, As St. Markes faire place neere invironed with stately buildings[2], only one part open to the Sea; also St. Marks Tower to bee ascended without Stepps[3] (as the Giralda att Sevill which is the fairest Tower I have yett seene[4]): The Bridge of Rioalto consistinge of one Arch[5], haveing two rowes of dwellings on it, a faire way in the midle, and two wayes on the backsides, beinge Shopps of severall wares and trades, of which there are fowre Rowes, that is to say two rowes, on each side of the midle way one, and one on each back way. Moreover, the great number of other stone bridges throughout the Cittie[6], and faire Channells of hewen stone with a passage on either side, soe that you may goe to any howse or place throughout the Cittie by land or water[7]. The multitude of Gondolls or Ferrie boats, the Curiositie of keepinge them, haveinge Tilts of black Cloth, with very curious handsome seats within, ordinarily rowed or skulled by one man, whoe standeth upright neere the Sterne of the boate, sometymes by two, three and fower, accordinge to their occasions of haiste

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[1] For a further contemporary description of the Arsenal at Venice, see *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. pp. 358—361.

[2] See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 314 ff.

[3] Compare Chiswell, *Travels* (in 1696), *Add. MS.* 10623, fol. 18 f., "The Tower of St. Marke is a square Building of a very considerable hight, and its ascent so easy, that I believe tis possible to ride up a horse back." See also *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 325 f.

[4] Mundy paid several visits to Seville. See pp. 14 and 24 and *Relation* III.

[5] See note 2 on p. 91. Compare Chiswell, *Travels* (in 1696), *Add. MS.* 10623, fol. 19, "the chiefest (bridge) is that over the great Canall, called the Riallto. It hath but one Arch and is deservedly counted a bold and excellent piece of Architecture." See also *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 309 f.

[6] Coryat gives the number of bridges at Venice as 450, *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 312.

[7] See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 312 f.

and state[1]. The height, strength and beautie and uniformitie of their buildinge in generall, and especially over the great Channells, as Canal grand[2], Canal Regio, etts., being of the Nobillitie. The aboundance of varyeties and dainties tending to sensualitie, and the liberty thereto; As also for Courtisans, of whome there are an incredible number by report; Theis baits drawe many hither, some for Curiositie, others for Luxurie, there beinge wayes to gett, but many more to spend, I meane of some professions and conditions.

The 4th. August, Anno 1620. Wee departed from Venice in a passage boate of Padoa[3] att 1 liver, or 8d.[4] per man, which boates, after our comeinge into the River[5], are drawne with horses. Goeinge upp the said River are three Sluces, without which it were impossible to arrive neere the Cittie, the water beinge not a foote deepe: Yett, with the helpe of the said sluces, Barkes of five or six foote draught, yea, prettie Shipps may bee conveyed[6]. Upon either side, As wee passed, were Townes and many pleasant Country howses of the Nobillitie and gentlemen of Venice, whether they resort in Sommer tyme for re-

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[1] See note 2 on p. 91. Compare Chiswell, *Travels*, *Add. MS.* 10623, fol. 20, "There is not a Coach or Horse in this Citty, but instead thereof the Gentry keep each a small boat called a Gondalo, in which being rowed by one Man, or sometimes two, they performe their visitts etc., but at their Country Houses upon the Terra firma, many of Them have Coaches and Calashes, severall Thousands of those Gondaloes lye allwayes ready to be hired, they are neatly built, and light, and are rowed with incredible swiftness and agility."

[2] See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 306.

[3] See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 300 and vol. ii. p. 1.

[4] Kelly, *Universal Cambist*, vol. ii. p. 153, has "Venice...Lira piccola (in the old coins) 5·07 d.," which is less than the value given by Mundy. Also, in "Sir Isaac Newton's Tables," quoted by Kelly in vol. ii. p. 155, the value of an "old Livre" is given as a little under 7d.

[5] The Brenta.

[6] Compare Chiswell's allusion to the locks on the Brenta, *Travels*, fol. 20 (*Add. MS.* 10623), "By an Ingenious method wee were helped over a flatt in this River."

creation[1]. Att three of the clock in the afternoone wee came to the Cittie of Padoa (25 miles)[2], and lodged att the Starr in Piazza de la Paglia[3], at five livers[4] per man per daye. This Cittie is seven miles in Compasse, but within are many voyd places and ruynes. It is walled about with Two walls. In the markett place is a Hall of neere 100 yards longe and about 35 broad to heere lawe suites[5].

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[1] See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 300, and a *Tour in France and Italy* (in 1675), p. 118.

Compare Bargrave's *Voyages and Journeys*, *Rawl. MS.* C. 799, fol. 163, "Padoa, where I found observable, first the Site of the City, in a fruitfull soile, on a pleasant Plaine, in a healthy Aire, and a plentyfull and Cheap Country: It is watred and trenchd by the river La Brenta, which affords a delightfull passage doune its Streame even to Venice having on its bankes varietie of Gallant Pallaces and Villag's, and in the Summer most curious walks from one to the other along the river almost the whole way. It is a convenient Retirement from Venice of about 20 miles distance."

[2] Compare *A Journall of a voyage thro France and Italy*, *Sloane MS.*, 2142, "April 21, 1659. Wee departed from Venice and lay that night at Padua going by water from thence, being accounted about twenty five miles. This Citty is very large, wherein is a University which entertains gentlemen of all nations."

[3] The Golden Star was a well-known inn for two centuries after Mundy's visit. Compare the following allusions:—

1745. "Padua...When you come thither lodge at Alla Stella, the Star." *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v. p. 38.

1775. "At Padua the Golden Star is a good house." *A Brief Account of the Roads of Italy*, p. 47.

1819. "Padua...L'Etoile d'or sur la place des Noli (la meilleure auberge et la plus commode de la Ville)." Milan, *Itinéraire d'Italie*.

In 1789 Taylor, *Travels from England to India in* 1789, vol. i. p. 60 f., mentions the "Aquila d'Oro" at Padua as "an excellent inn." There is still a "Stella d'Oro" at Padua in Piazza Garibaldi.

[4] See note 4 on p. 98.

[5] See Lithgow, *Painefull Peregrinations*, p. 415; and *A Tour in France and Italy* (in 1675), p. 118. The Hall of Audience, which is 300 ft. long and 100 ft. broad, was begun in 1172 and finished in 1306. Compare the following accounts of this building and of the city of Padua:—

1609. "Padua boasteth of her neighbourhood to the river Padus, her Universitie, Antenors foundation, fertillity of ground, strong ramparts, and repineth at her subjection to Venice." Gainsford, *Glory of England*, p. 80.

1649. "Padua is rather ancient (as being the mother of Venice) then beautifull and frequented rather for its university then for its

The 5th. August, 1620. This morninge my lord went to visitt the Earle of Arundells two sonns[1], whoe were there att Studdie[2], and that afternoone they came to see his Lordshipp, the eldest being about eighteen yeres of age, the other Tenn.

The 6th. August, 1620. Att Padoa wee hired three Caroches[3] att 8 dollers each, the doller worth 8 livers 8 solz[4], unto Verona, Mr. Randoll Syms[5] accompanyeinge

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pleasant living. It is much frequented by strangers." *Rawl. MS.* D. 120 (*Travels*, by an anonymous author).

1655. "Padoa, where I found observable...Its Walls all of Stone handsomely wrought, and admirably Strong, having a stately walk upon the Earth cast up within them...the Universitie Great hall, in which lie buryed Publius Livie his bones whose Statue stands beside them." Bargrave, *Voyages and Journeys*, *Rawl. MS.* C. 799, fol. 163.

1696. "Padua...A very Ancient and famous Citty, but now greatly declined from its former glory, both in Number of People, Riches and Buildings, also of the University so noted in History, there is now but little appearance, its incompassed with an old and new Wall, the latter is about six miles in Compass, and was built according to the moderne Fortification at the great expence of the Venetians to whome the Citty still belongs, and so is their Bulwark on that side....Wee went to the Towne house into which wee ascended by a good number of Staires, in length it containes 102 ordinary paces, and in breadth 33, indeed tis a large noble structure, but far inferior to Westminster Hall with which they pretend to compare it, at the upper end is the Monument of that excellent Historian Titus Livius, who was a Native of this Place." Chiswell, *Travels*, *Add. MS.* 10623, fol. 20 f.

[1] These were James Lord Maltravers and Henry Frederick, sons of Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel. The lads were sent to Italy in 1619, under the care of Mr Thomas Coke, to complete their education. Lord Maltravers died of small-pox at Ghent in 1624. See Tierney, *History and Antiquities of Arundel*, pp. 444—487.

[2] Coryat says there were fifteen hundred students at the University when he visited Padua. See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 297. Compare *Harl. MS.* 288, fol. 284 (*Directions to Travellers in France and Italy*, circ. 1620), "Padua: An Universitie famous for Lawe and phisicke, frequented by all nations, who have for each a Consull whom they change each yeare, during which time those of the same nation are obliged to obey."

[3] The seventeenth century name of a coach or chariot of a stately or luxurious kind. Murray, *Oxford English Dictionary*. See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. ii. p. 231.

[4] *i.e.* 8 lira 8 soldi. According to the value given for a lira on p. 98, note 4, the dollar would be worth 5s. 6½d., reckoning 20 soldi to the lira. See Kelly, *Universal Cambist*, vol. i. p. 244.

[5] "Randall" or "Randalph Symes" was employed by the Levant Company at Venice, as agent for the transmission of letters. He is

my Lord (whoe came to Padoa twoe dayes before us), where Thomas Humes remained, haveing Captaine Winge[1] in his stead, whoe was to come with us for England: Alsoe Thomas Constance and Ricardo an Italian, bound also with us. That eveninge wee came to Vicenza (25 miles), a small Cittie about two miles in Compasse[2], and there wee lay att the Three Kings[3].

The 7th. August, 1620. Mr. Randoll Syms tooke his leave and returned to Venice, and wee proceeded to Villa Nova[4], a Towne where wee dyned; from thence to the Cittie of Verona and lodged att the Cavalettee[5].

This Cittie is faire and great[6], very famous and auntient, where is to bee seene an Amphitheater, part of the Romaine monuments, of an Ovall forme, one third of a mile in Compasse without side. And within are thirty-five[7] degrees or stepps round about, each of some two foote high, of hewen stone, part fallen downe, but now beginninge to bee repaired againe, and serveth for the

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referred to in that capacity in *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 148, under dates 28 March, 1622, 22 July, 1624, and 20 Nov., 1626.

[1] This seems to mean that Captain Winge took Thomas Hume's place as one of Sir Paul Pindar's attendants. For Thomas Hume, the "Scottishman," see p. 43. There is no further reference in the MS. to Captain Winge.

[2] Compare *Harl. MS.* 288, fol. 284, "From Padua to Vicenza are 18 mile where they reckon forty thousand Soules."

[3] Other travellers do not mention this inn. Taylor, *Travels from England to India*, in 1789, says of Vicenza, vol. i. p. 61, "Good accommodation and excellent inns."

[4] Villa Nuova is a place of little account in the present day. It lies between Torre di Confini and Soave, on the old post road from Venice to Milan. It appears in a map entitled "Viaggio da Milano a Venezia," in *A Brief Account of the Roads of Italy* (1775). Coryat mentions the place and says it is 17 miles from Vicenza. *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. ii. p. 15.

[5] The Cavaletta. I have not been able to trace the inn here. Later writers mention the Due Torri (? the existing Londra e Due Torri) at Verona.

[6] Compare *Harl. MS.* 288, fol. 284, "Farther [from Vicenza] 30 Miles is Verano, a brave citie, 7 Miles in compasse."

[7] The British Museum copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, has "Forty-five degrees."

Citties use and recreation[1]. But in auntient tyme publique shewes were presented to the people in such as these. Amonge the rest, Condempned men exposed to fight and strugle for their lives with wilde beasts, as lyons, beares, Tigers, wolves, etts., kept there of purpose, where, lett them behave them selves never soe valiently. yett att length nothing but their misserable deathes must make upp the multitudes pastime, whoe in those dayes delighted in such Inhumaine Spectacles, as wee may read in the Romaine History.

And, for the better understandinge of an Amphitheater, I have on the other side sett the designe of one, and although not the true draught of this, yett some what resemblinge the same when entire[2].

An Amphitheater[3] consists of two Joined Theaters, and is therefore soe called, conteyning no stage, consecrated commonly to Mars, in that Spectacles of bloud and Death were in them exhibited to the people, as sword-playing, combatting with wilde beasts, compelling the condemned to personate tragedies and acts butt fained, to performe them in earnest[4]. Those that were condemned to fight with Wild beasts Were exhibited[5] in the Mornings. The horror was such, as weomen were forbidden to behold them, where the killers in the end were killed, and no Way left to avoid destruction[6]. Some allsoe for hire and some for bravery undertooke to encounter with such

[1] The Amphitheatre was built in 284 A.D. See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. ii. p. 19.

Compare *Rawl. MS.* D. 120 (*Travels*, by an anonymous author, in 1649), "From hence [Vicenza] I went to Verona. This is a very beautifull and pleasant city both for cituation and building...it has three fortresses and an amphitheatre, the most entire of any I have seen."

[2] There is no illustration in the MS. Coryat has a representation of the Amphitheatre at Verona. See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. ii., ill. facing p. 24.

[3] The whole of this paragraph is taken from Sandys' *Travels*. Mundy has quoted pretty accurately, for the most part, but has retained his own spelling and has omitted several passages.

[4] Here, half a page is omitted.

[5] Sandys has "produced."

[6] Here, two sentences are omitted.

beasts, who either perished or made way by victory unto saffety. One hundred lyons were often at once let forth in the court of the Amphitheater, and often beasts were sett against beasts, a less savage spectacle. Butt oh the wicked delight of those barbarous tyrants, worthy to suffer what they inflicted! Who caused Miserable Wretches to make histories of fables, and putt in Act Imaginary miseries. They being most praised of the Dry-eyed beholders that exposed themselves unto Death without terror, either by taking it from the Weapon of another, or falling on their owne[1]. Nor matterd it who had the part to survive, hee being butt reserved for another daies slaughter[2]. The floore was covered with sand to drinck up the bloud that was shed thereon. Vid. Mr. Sands: page 70: 71: and 72[3].

The Area or space within, Ovall, in length 39 perches, in breadth 22, att 10 foote to the perche is 390 foote long and 220 broad. Read at large C.C.[4]

Alleppo Merchant, August 2d., Anno 1655[5].

Since the writing hereof I got the print of it here inserted[6].

The 8th. August, 1620. Wee came to Cavalsella (15 miles)[7], a Towne, thence to Lonatt (12 miles), a little Cittie, and lodged att St. Markes, or the Venetian Armes[8].

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[1] Sandys completes the sentence with "as the fable required."

[2] Here a paragraph is omitted.

[3] The extracts are taken from pp. 270—272 of the 1615 edition of Sandys' *Travels*.

[4] "C.C." is apparently meant for *Coryat's Crudities* which first appeared in 1611. Coryat has a long description of the amphitheatre at Verona.

[5] Mundy made his third voyage to India in the *Aleppo Merchant*, in 1655. He appears to have revised his MS. during the voyage and to have added the Supplement to *Relation* I. as well as several notes. The extract from Sandys is in Mundy's own writing.

[6] This "print" has either been lost or was removed by the author at a later date.

[7] Cavalcaselle, fourteen miles west of Verona.

[8] Lonato. I have found no other reference to the inn mentioned by Mundy.

Betwene theis is Lago de Garda, a great lake, as they say, about fifty miles in length and seven or eight miles broade in some places, of Fresh water, wherein are vessells both for fishinge and transportation[1]. Att the end whereof wee passed through a stronge Castle called Peskera[2].

The 9th. August, 1620. Att Evening wee came to Brescia (15 miles), a faire Cittie and verye stronge, with a good Castle, which is noe more then needs[3]; it standing soe neare the Spanish Dominions[4]. Wee dyned att the signe of the Tower, a very faire Hosteria or Inne[5]. To bee noted, as well in this Cittie as also before wee came neere it, wee saw many people with great Wenns or swellings under their throats, as bigg as two fists, which some say is ocasioned by drinckinge the snowe water that continuallie cometh downe the mountaines[6]. From thence

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[1] The lake is 34 miles long and 3 to 11 miles wide. Coryat gives its dimensions as 35 miles long and 14 broad. *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. ii. p. 40. Compare *Harl. MS.* 288, fol. 284 (*Directions to Travellers, circ.* 1620), "Fifteen miles thence [Verona] is Peschiera: hard by here is the Lake de gard well stored with fish, 36 miles long and 14 broade."

[2] Peschiera. See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. ii. p. 39.

[3] See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. ii. p. 42 ff. Compare the following remarks on Brescia:—

1609. "Brescia...where the language is corrupt; for belike they have beat out the fineness with hammering their armours." Gainsford, *Glory of England*, p. 90.

1620. "Hence [from Peschiera] 25 miles to Brescia, famous for tunnes." *Harl. MS.* 288, fol. 284.

1648. "Brescia is a pretty towne, famous over most part of Europe for making of Armes, the mettle of which is treason to transport out. It has a strong fortresse strong both in its Cituation As being built on a hill as allso on a rocke." *Rawl. MS.* D. 120, fol. 30.

1659. "Brescia, a great and large Citty, and subject to the Venetians. The inhabitants in former tymes have raised many warres and commotions...the people retaine some markes of their ancient fiercenesse, both by the cruelty of their lookes and guns and swords which they continually carry about them." *Sloane MS.* 2142, under date 25 April, 1659.

[4] Brescia was on the borders of the Duchy of Milan, then a Spanish possession.

[5] The "Torre" Inn or the "Auberge La Tour" at Brescia is mentioned in Guides to Italy of 1787, 1819, and 1829. It perhaps survives in the existing "Due Torri."

[6] Mundy was particularly impressed by the sufferers from goître. He has further allusions to the disease later on.

wee came to Orsovechio, a little Towne, and lay att the Spred Eagle[1].

The 10th. August, 1620. From Orsovechio wee past by Orsonovo[2] (2 miles), a very strong walled and well kept Town: from thence, over the River Olio (1½ miles)[3] by boate. From Venice hither wee had extraordinary pleasaunt travellinge, the way plaine, as was all the Countrie hereabouts, Corne feilds and pleasant meadows continually on either side. Amidst their Corne, fruite trees in Rancks, and att the foote of them againe are vines which Creep upp into the said trees. Then take they the vine branches of the one tree, and twist them with the vyne branches of the next, and of that which is the next to it, soe that the Trees, through meanes of the vines, seeme to daunce hand in hand all over the feild[4]. Other vynes then theis they have not hereabouts that I could see; also many prettie brookes and Rilletts runninge every waie, with divers Townes That I have not named. From the River[5] wee came to Sumseenee (1½ miles), a walled Towne under the Spaniard[6]; then to Crema (5 miles), a walled Towne of the Venetians[7]. Fowre miles beyond this is the Venetian Territories; and then begineth the Dutchy of Millan under the Spaniard[8], they haveinge Sumseenee

[1] Orzivechi. I have found no other reference to Mundy's "Spred Eagle."

[2] Orzi Nuovi. [3] The Oglio.

[4] Here the author has a marginal note, "Curious conceived husbandrie." See also Symonds' description of the vineyards near Turin, quoted in *Appendix* G. The above is a fair description of the viticulture of Northern Italy at the present day.

[5] *i.e.* the Oglio.

[6] Soncino, in the Duchy of Milan in Mundy's day.

[7] "Crema, the last towne of the Venetians." *Rawl. MS.* D. 120, fol. 30.

[8] Philip II. of Spain was invested with the Duchy of Milan by his father, the Emperor Charles V. in 1540. The Spanish line of Hapsburg retained the province until 1700. By the treaties of Utrecht and Baden, 1713—1714, Milan was annexed to the possessions of the House of Austria.

within the Venetian Dominion, as aforesaid. Then came wee to Lotho (10 miles), a walled Cittie[1], before which runneth the River Sera[2], bearinge small vessells, with a broken wooden bridge, soe past it over by boate (10 miles), and dyned att the Catt and the bell. From thence to Mallignano, a small Towne, and lodged att the Eagle and Horne[3].

The 11th. August, 1620. Att Eveninge wee came to the greate Cittie of Millan (20 miles), and dyned att the Three Kings[4], after which, my Lord beinge in his Coach and on his way, was mett by El Conde de Leria, Governor of this Cittie and Dukedome under the King of Spaine[5], soe that our Journey was stopped for that tyme, my Lord goeing back to our lodging with him, where hee stayed a quarter of an hower and departed. Towards night my Lord went to visitt him, and then to proceede next morninge. In this short space and in this famous Cittie, I went to the Domo[6] or high Church, where lay the bodie of Carolus Boromeo, late Cardinall of this Cittie, whoe dyed about thirty-six yeres since, and was Canonized for a Saint some twelve yeres agoe[7], now in great reverence

[1] Lodi. See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 254 f. Compare *Rawl. MS.* D. 120, fol. 30, "Lodi, the first towne of the Duchy of Milan."

[2] The Serio. Lodi is, however, on the Adda, of which the Serio is a tributary.

[3] Malegnano. I have found no other reference to the inn at this place nor to the one at Lodi.

[4] "Milan...When you come thither, I would wish you lodged at the Three Kings...where you shall be exceeding well entertained." *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v. p. 37, "At Milan...there is...a house the sign of the Three Kings." *A Brief Account of the Roads of Italy* (in 1775). The Auberge des Trois Rois at Milan is mentioned in an *Itinéraire* of 1819, and the Tre Re at Milan appears in a *Nouveau Guide* of 1829.

[5] Leria appears to be a copyist's error for Feria. In *State Papers, Foreign*, vol. 23, the Duke of Feria is mentioned, in June, 1621, in connection with a strife as to the right of passage of armed Spanish Soldiers between Crema and Corvasco. Feria, who was Governor of Milan and commander of the Spanish troops in Germany, died in Bavaria, in 1634.

[6] The Duomo or Cathedral of Milan.

[7] "Carolus Boromeo, a New Saint in Millan." Author's *Index*.

hereabouts, haveinge (as they say) done many Miracles both alive and dead. He lyes in a vault before the high alter, there beinge another little Alter over his body with lights continually burninge. About the south of the vault is a raile of Iron, where men may looke downe through a grate; and great concourse of people doe continually flow to it, where they make their requests and Prayers.

The 12th. August, 1620. Goeinge, wee past by the Castle, accounted one of the strongest in Christendome[1]: Soe crossed over the River Biufalore[2], which runneth to

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See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 244, and Johnson, *Travellers Guide* for an account of the Saint of this famous family and his tomb. The Cardinal died in 1584, aged 46.

Compare Lithgow, *Painefull Peregrinations*, p. 410, "A false canonized Saint. I remember about twenty yeares ago [from 1616] Paulo Papa quinto Canonized Carolo Borrameo, the late Bishop of Milane for a notable Saint, being knowne to bee a notorious and scelerate liver; done sooner by fifteene yeares then their ordinary time, and that for the touch of forty thousand Duckats; allotting Prayers Miracles, Pardons and Pilgrimages to him, and erecting a new Order of Friers, and Monasteries unto him. And yet the poore Bishop of Lodi, a good and charitable liver by all reports, could never, nor cannot attayne to the dignity of a Saint, his meanes was so small when dead, and his friends so poore being alive." Compare also *Sloane MS.* 4217 (An account of the Journey of Lady Catherine Whetenall from Brussels to Italy in 1650), fol. 18, "Milan...the Domo or greate Church, where St. Charles of Boromeos body lyes enterd in the Middest of the Church before the Cuire. Hee was Arch Bishopp of the Towne some Three score yeares agoe and a man of Singular Sanctitie. His body is inclosed now in a most Curious Christall case (given by the King of Spaine) and it is intire all but a Little of his nose end."

Mundy seems to have verified the date of death of the saint when he revised his MS. The copyist wrote "about thirty four years ago," and the B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, has the same. The correction to "thirty six" in the *Rawl. MS.* is in Mundy's own writing.

[1] Compare *Rawl. MS.* D. 120, fol. 30, "Milan...this is one of the four greate cityes of Italy, but wheither it deserve the title of Milano le grando, it being the lest of the four, I know not. The things remarkable heere the great Church...the fort or fortresse esteemed and deservedly one of the strongest of Christendome both in respect of its cituation...and it is the best furnished with all sorts of ammunition of warre as also with a garrison of 4000 men."

See also *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 247 f., and *A Tour in France and Italy*, p. 30.

[2] The town of Buffaloro is situated about three miles from the river Ticino. There is no river of that name, but the Canal of Naviglio-Grande intersects the town of Buffaloro and was evidently mistaken by the author for a river.

the Cittie, wherein are great flatt bottomed Boates, which supply it with provision, fruites, etts. from the Countrye. This wee passed by bridge; but two myles further, wee crossed the river Tezin[1] by boate, being verye great and swifte. Soe to Nowarra (25 miles)[2], and dyned att the Three Kings[3]. From thence to Varselly (10 miles)[4]. About two miles before wee came hither, in our waye, wee past by a small fortification of the Spaniards, or rather a mount of Earth, it being the end of the Dutchye of Millan, and their Jurisdiction this way, Varselly being in Piedmont, and subject to the Duke of Savoy[5]. It haveing bene lately beseidged and taken by the King of Spaines forces, about some difference betwene the Two princes, but surrendred againe to the Duke upon agreement[6]. Effects of the Seidge wee sawe; for, about a mile from the Towne, were a great number of dwellings, etts. buildings battered downe and levelled with the ground. The Cittie of it selfe is reasonable well and strongly walled Round about,

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[1] The Ticino.

[2] Novara. See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 239.

[3] The Tre Re at Novara is described, in 1842, as "a tolerable Italian Inn." The inn is also mentioned in Guide books of 1787, 1819 and 1829.

[4] Vercelli. See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. pp. 234—237.

[5] Compare *Add. MS.* 34177 (*Account of a Journey over Mt. Cenis* etc.), fol. 52, "A little beyond it [Vercelli] wee rode through a little river...and then were in the Dutchy of Milan....Verceil is the last towne of the Duke of Savoy towards Milan."

See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 234, where this statement is confirmed.

[6] Vercelli was besieged and taken by Spanish forces in 1617. In July of that year Sir Henry Wotton, the English ambassador at Venice, writes, "We stand in a quotidian feaver about Vercelles and extreamly doubtfull of the event of that important Seige." (*State Papers, Foreign, Venice*, vol. 22, fol. 233.) In August, news reached Venice of the fall of Vercelli and a treaty was proposed between Spain and Savoy. Sir Henry Wotton wrote that if Vercelli were not restored, "the Duke of Savoye will not be quiet nor the Venetians without him." (*Ibid.* fol. 241). On March, 1618, there was no change in the situation, "In Lombardie thinges stand as they did, and so shalbe my song till Vercelli be restored." (*Ibid.* fol. 249.) The surrender of the town to Savoy took place shortly after. It was re-taken by the Spaniards in 1638.

although not very bigg nor faire. Wee lodged att the Cardinalls hatt.

The 13th. August, 1620. Wee came to Seean (16 miles)[1], and dyned att the Angell (10 miles), and from thence to the Citty Cheebas[2] and lodged att the golden lyon without the Gates.

The 14th. August, 1620. From Cheebas wee came to the Cittie of Turin (14 miles), the principall seate of the Duke of Savoy[3], himselfe was now absent[4]. Within two miles of the Cittie wee past a greate River[5] by boate, where mett us two Footemen whoe, haveinge spoken with my Lord, returned with all speede[6]. One mile farther, there mett him in a Coach Sir Isaack Wake, our Kings Ambassador to this Duke[7], and halfe a mile farther wee mett the Dukes generall, and with him twenty five Knights in Compleat Armour, whoe came to conduct my Lord into the Cittie, and soe to his lodginge, being a very faire howse of the Dukes ready furnished. There beinge also

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[1] See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 233. He gives the distance from Sian to Turin as 24 miles, *i.e.* four miles less than Mundy's estimate.

[2] Chivasso.

[3] "Turin, the Cheiff Citty of Piedmont." Author's *Index*. See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 230, for a description of Turin. From Turin to Paris, Mundy followed almost the same route as that taken by Richard Symonds from Paris to Turin in 1648. Symonds' Note Books, *Harl. MSS.* 943 and 1278, contain much valuable contemporary information and are freely used in this volume. The greater part of *Harl. MS.* 943 has been reproduced in *Appendix* G, where Symonds' remarks on Turin will be found.

[4] The Duke of Savoy at this period was Charles Emanuel II., who governed Savoy and Piedmont; his eldest son took the title of Prince of Piedmont.

[5] The Po.

[6] In the *Rawl. MS.* there is inserted, at this point, a double-page map of the Duchy of Savoy by Hondius (undated) with Mundy's route marked in red dotted lines.

[7] Sir Isaac Wake, ? 1580—1632, was the British representative at the Court of Savoy from 1615 until his death in 1632. He was knighted, while on a visit to England, in 1619. For a full account of his career see the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

appoynted to attend him twelve Switzers[1] att the Gate, six footemen, six of the Dukes owne Pages, Usher, Steward, Carver, Pantler[2], Butler, Cookes, Jester, as if it were for the Dukes owne person: Also the provisions att the Dukes charge[3].

The 15th. August, 1620. His Lordshipp went to visit the Kinge of France his Sister, married to the Dukes eldest sonne Prince of Peidmont[4], whoe had her lodginge a part: from thence to the Dukes three daughters, two of them virgines and the third a widowe, being married to the Duke of Mantua deceased, about which befell the difference betwene the Kinge of Spaine and this Duke, as is before touched[5]: From thence to the Dukes three Sonnes, one of them beinge a Cardinall[6]: Afterwards

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[1] *i.e.*, as a body-guard. The Swiss mercenaries dated from 1464, when 500 Swiss footmen were brought by the Duke of Calabria, son of René, King of Sicily, to serve in the French army.

[2] Now obsolete. Originally, the duties of the pantler or pantryman were associated only with food, as those of the butler were exclusively confined to liquors.

[3] Here the author has a marginal note, "My Lord conducted in State into the Cittie, my lords honourable entertainment att Turin by the Dukes order."

[4] Christine, second sister of Louis XIII. of France was given in marriage to Victor-Amadeus of Piedmont in 1619. Symonds, who visited Turin in 1649, says that the inhabitants of the city were composed of "as many French as Italian by reason of the Dutches of Savoy who is sister to the late King of France." *Vide Appendix* G.

[5] Charles Emanuel I., Duke of Savoy (who was fifty-eight years old at the time of Mundy's visit), had ten children by his wife, the Infanta Catherine, daughter of Philip II. of Spain, five sons and five daughters. Margaret, the eldest daughter, was married to Francis de Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, in 1608, in order to cement a treaty with Spain. He died in 1612, leaving only one surviving child, a daughter. The guardianship of the little princess of Mantua led to the most unfriendly relations between Spain and Savoy. There were frequent hostilities, one of the aggressive acts of the Spaniards being the siege of Vercelli, as noted by the author (see *ante*, p. 108).

Of the other four daughters of Charles Emanuel, two, Marie and Françoise-Catherine, became nuns: the second, Isabella, married the Duke of Modena and died in 1626, and the youngest died in infancy.

[6] Of the five sons of Charles Emanuel, the eldest died in 1605, and the youngest was Grand Prior of the Abbey of Castile. The three

conveyed through the Cittie, accompanied by the Generall and Sir Isaake Wake etts.[1]

The 16th. August, 1620. This morninge my lord went to see the Dukes great Gallerye[2], beinge about 130 yards longe, adorned with Curious statues and Pictures, with 48 presses of bookes and great store of Armour[3].

About one a Clocke in the Afternoone my lord departed Turin, haveinge taken his leave of the Dukes Children and largely gratefied all the officers and Dukes servants, beinge accompanied out of the Cittie in the same manner hee was received in. And att about a myles end, the Generall and Knights tooke their leaves and returned: but Sir Isaak Wake kept him Company (being both in one Coach) to our lodgings att Viana (10 miles)[4], which was att the three flowre de Luces. Hard by the Towne is a Castle on the Topp of a very highe Rock[5].

The 17th. August, 1620. Sir Isaak Wake haveing taken his leave of my Lord, returned to Turin, but wee

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sons whom Pindar visited were, Victor-Amadeus, who succeeded his father, Maurice, a Cardinal, who, in 1642, left the Church and married his niece, and Thomas-Francis, Prince of Carignan. For a full account of Charles Emanuel I. and his family, see *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique*, par Louis Moreri.

[1] See note 3 on p. 110.

[2] Compare *Lansdowne MS.* 720, fol. 36, "La galerie de son Altesse qui est remply et orne de plusieurs chose singulieres et exquises." See also *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 231.

[3] Here the author has a marginal note, "This by relation." Compare Dumont, *A New Voyage to the Levant* (in 1689), p. 55, "Turin...I cou'd not...discover any other Antiquities than those in the Duke's Gallery, which is full of all sorts of fine Paintings, rare Manuscripts, Medals, Vases, and other Curiosities of that Nature."

[4] Avigliana. Compare *Lansdowne MS.* 720, fol. 34, "Avigliana Petite Ville par le milieu de laquelle il fault passer, situee sur une montaigne non toutesfoys gueres haulte." Compare also *Rawl. MS.* D. 207, fol. 18 (*Passage over the Alpes*, in 1688), "I took horse at the three Kings...at Turin...we...had a sight of Avigliano, a place of pleasure belonging to the Duke of Savoy and finely situate on the rising of a hill."

[5] This appears to be the Castle alluded to by Symonds as Villiano. *Vide Appendix* G.

proceeded to Burchelleena (10 miles)[1], the way plaine although wee began to enter the Alpes, haveing high mountaines on either side. Wee dyned att the three Pigeons, and from thence to Novellesa and lodged att the Posthowse[2]. The Towne standeth att the foote of a very high Mountaine[3].

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[1] Bussoleno. In the early part of the 19th century this was the usual halting-place for the night for travellers who had crossed Mt. Cenis and were bound for Turin. See Galignani's *Traveller's Guide* (1819), p. xx., where, however, the "Three Pigeons" is not mentioned.

[2] Novalese was also one of the regular halting-places for travellers between France and Italy up to the early part of the 19th century. Compare the following accounts of the place and the country around it :—

1575. "Au pied de la montaigne [Mt. Cenis] La Novareze...qui est un gros bourg que ceux de Lanebourg qui parlent francoys nomment La Novalaise et est la pose ordinaire de ceux qui ont passé la montaigne, ainsy que Lanebourg de l'aultre costé de Savoye....Icy se commence à parler Italien Piedmontoys qui est une langage fort corrompu...a la sortye de ce bourg lon commence a cheminer par quelques petits plaines pierreuses enserrees de montaignes d'un costé et d'autre." *Lansdowne MS.* 720, fol. 31 f.

1688. "We rode all the afternoon upon rocky ground between the Mountains which were on both sides of a vast height. From the Top of 'em there fell down little Rivulets of snow water, which dividing them selves in falling into severall Channels or Cascades made a rabbling in their discents which added much to the horror of the place, the sight being on all sides terminated with the Prospect of barren Rocks, very high and very steep....Wee lodged that night at Novalese a wretched little Town aboute three miles from Suse... scituate at the foot of Mount Cenis....The inhabitants of Novalese get their living by accommodating Strangers with Mules or Chairs for the passage of this Mountain....They are most Notorious Knaves, and lye continually upon the Catch to cheat strangers in their bargains." *Rawl. MS.* D. 207.

See also *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 225 ff., where the place is called Novalaise, and Symonds' account in *Appendix* G, where it is La Novaleze. In the *Gentleman's Guide* of 1787, the Post is mentioned as the chief inn at Novaleze, and in Galignani's *Traveller's Guide* of 1819 Novalezza is mentioned as the place for dining after the descent of Mt. Cenis into Italy.

[3] Mt. Cenis. Here the author has a marginal note, "Entrance of the Alpes." Compare Gainsford, *Glory of England*, p. 9 f., for a fanciful derivation of the name :—"Mount Sinese, the onely passage of the Alpes into Italy. It is called Sinese, *quasi nunquam sine neve*, never without snow, and is indeed a dangerous, tedious and cold travell even in the midst of summer."

for the Hakluyt Society holomew & Co. 1907

The 18th. August, 1620. Wee began to ascend the Mountaine aforesaid, which wee found to be steepie and Rockey. Att three miles wee passed over a litle bridge which divideth Savoy from Piedmont, wee now entringe into Savoy[1]. The ascent may bee about five miles. On the topp is a plaine of two miles and a halfe longe and a faire, cleire Lake of about a mile and a halfe in Compasse[2]. By the lake is a howse built purposelye when the Kinge of Fraunce his Sister came to be married to the Dukes sonne (as before mentioned[3]) that they might heere refresh themselves after their wearie ascendinge the Mountaine. The Duke himselfe, returninge from his progresse, was then in the said howse where hee stayed to meete my Lord, hearinge of his departure from Turin, and haveing mett great Companies of his followers in our ascendinge the Hill and on the Plaine. Att our arrivall to the howse, his Lordshipp went to visitt and thanck his highnes for the great honour and loveinge entertainement which hee had received att Turin[4]. And soe, haveing taken his leave, wee departed and came to the discent of the mountaine, which was wonderfull Steepie, soe that every man allighted[5], my Lord being carried downe in

[1] In the map of Savoy by Hondius mentioned in note 6 on p. 109, "La grand +" is marked at the boundary between Savoy and Piedmont.

[2] Compare *Lansdowne MS.* 720, fol. 28, "En ceste plaine du Mont Senys y a deux lacs le grand et le petit, esquelz y a poisson."

Compare also *Rawl. MS.* D. 207, "Mount Cenis...is the highest and difficultest to passe of all the Alpes: Tis Computed to bee three miles in its ascent, three upon the Plain and four in its discent, the top is covered with Snow all Moneths in the year except from the latter end of June to the beginning of August, from which time it begins to fall and continues by fits all the Winter."

See Symonds' account of "Mont Sinnys" in *Appendix* G, and Dumont, *A New Voyage to the Levant*, p. 54; see also *A Tour in France and Italy*, p. 24.

[3] See note 4 on p. 110.

[4] See pp. 109—111.

[5] Compare Gainsford's remarks on Mt. Cenis and its neighbourhood, *Glory of England*, p. 98 f., "The passages to all these places are somewhat fearfull to strangers, For to ride under, and behold such

a chaire betwene Two men, there being those that attend there for that purpose, whoe gett their liveing thereby[1]. The Descent is three miles. Att the bottome lyes Lambort (10 miles)[2], a small Towne, and wee dined att the three Kings[3].

Note that in all the Countrie of Piedmont the people began to alter the Italian tongue, it being hard for us to understand their language, but on this side the mountaine

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mighty mountaines and rockes, to see the snow dissolve and runne downe with that impetuous force...is a thing both of admiration and pleasure. But for mine owne part, it startled me not at all, in regard I had marched over some mountaines and places in Ireland, especially Pen men mawre in Wales, which for the length of the passage is the fearefullest that ever I saw...and indeed surmounteth any place of Savoy or the Alpes."

See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 224, see also Symonds' remarks, quoted in *Appendix* G, and Dumont, *A New Voyage to the Levant*, p. 54.

[1] Compare *Lansdowne MS.* 720, fol. 26 f., "Sur le hault de la montaigne y a hommes avec chaires esquelles lon se met et assist. L'un d'Icieux va devant...tenant comme deux brancards en ses mains lesquelz tirent la chaire, et derrier Icelle y a un aultre homme qui... tient la chaire droicte qu'elle ne renverse....Par ce moyen se faict une lieue entiere en peu de temps estant avec ce bien a son Aise en mauvais chemin. Et d'aultant que premierement lon usoit de grands rameaux au lieu de Chaires, lon appelloit cela Ramasser."

Compare also *Sloane MS.* 4217, *Travels* (in 1650), fol. 14, "Mont Cenis...the highest hill in Italy...wee ventured upon it being covered with ice and snow. Her Ladyship and her husband were carryed by Morans, that is men who have noe other trade but to carry men in Chaires made for the purpose up and downe that hill, fower to every chaire to rest and guide the chaire, whiles the other two beare the burthen; they have Irons in the midst of theire shoes which hinder them from slipping." Symonds says the cost of descending the Italian side of the Mountain in a "Chaire" was five shillings. *Vide Appendix* G.

[2] Lanslebourg. The name of this town seems to have been a puzzle to travellers. Compare the following:—

1575. "Lanebourg, gros bourg au pied du mont Senys...ou lon parle Francoys Savoyart." *Lansdowne MS.* 720, fol. 24 f.

1611. Coryat has Lasnebourg. *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 224.

1648. Symonds has "Lanbourg, a small village." *Vide Appendix* G.

1650. "Lanebourg att the foote of Mont Cenis." *Sloane MS.* 4217, fol. 14.

1787. "Lanebourg the best place to repose at." *The Gentleman's Guide.*

[3] In none of the MSS. that I have seen is the Three Kings mentioned.

they speake broken French[1]. From Lambort wee came to Bramant (6 miles), alwaies betwene the Hills, and lodged att the three flower de Luces[2]. From Lambort hither wee came alonge by a swifte River[3], there beinge all the way great falls of Water[4], which tumbleinge downe the hills maketh the said River, which runneth with great violence and noyse betwene the Mountaines.

The 19th. August, 1620. From Bramont wee came to St. Michells (8 miles)[5], where haveinge dyned, wee proceeded to St. Johns (4 miles), a Stronge walled Towne and lodged att the Blackemores head[6]; this day all alonge by the river afore mentioned[7]. Heere his Lordshipp had

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[1] See *Appendix* G for Symonds' remarks on the "corrupted Italian" and "such kind of French" as he heard in his Journey over Mt. Cenis.

[2] In *Lansdowne MS.* 720, fol. 24, this place appears as Bremont, and in the map of Savoy by Hondius (see note 6 on p. 109) it occurs as Branault. Compare Gainsford, *Glory of England*, p. 98, "Bramont, a city of that antiquity, that Caesar filleth some part of his Commentaries with her relations."

I have found no reference to the inn where Mundy lodged.

[3] The Arc. Compare *Lansdowne MS.* 720, fol. 21, "A la sortye du Montmillian se trouve un pont du boys, long de deux traicts d'arc... sur lequel il fault passer, et soubz iceluy cousle une riviere qui vient du mont Senyz, laquelle depuis sa source, Jusques icy est appellee pour sa rapacité Arc et d'icy descendant plus bas est nommee Lisere."

[4] Coryat says that he saw "at the least a thousand torrents" between "Aiguegbelette and Novalese." See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 221.

[5] "St. Michel, Petite Ville bastye sur le declin d'une fort haulte roche." *Lansdowne MS.* 720, fol. 23. Symonds calls it "a close nasty bourg." *Vide Appendix* G.

[6] St Jean de Maurienne. Compare *Lansdowne MS.* 720, fol. 23, "Sainct Jehan de Morienne....Ceste ville n'est forte ny de murailles, ny de fossez, hors icelle est l'evesché." Du Verdier, *Voyage de France*, p. 399, calls the place S. Jean de Montane. In the map of Savoy by Hondius (see note 6 on p. 109) it is marked as S. Jean de Muriane. See Symonds' description of the place, quoted in *Appendix* G. See also *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 223, and Dumont, *A New Voyage to the Levant*, p. 53. I have found no other reference to the "Blackemores head." In *The Gentleman's Guide* of 1787 the inns of the Mt. Cenis district are said to be "abominable" and, in 1828, Johnson, *Traveller's Guide*, p. 39, remarks, "Slept at St. Jean de Maurienne, a miserable inn."

[7] The Arc. See *ante*, note 3.

a present sent him in the Princes name[1], himselfe not there but expected the next day from Turin. This is a Bishopps Sea.

The 20th. August, 1620. Wee came to Gabella[2], and lay att the signe of the Ramme[3]. My Lord and Gentlemen past forward to Mummelan[4]. Servants and stuffe remained heere[5].

The 21st. August, 1620. Att our arrivall heere (Shamberly, 12 miles)[6], my Lord etts. were passed forward to

[1] *i.e.* the Prince of Piedmont, Victor-Amadeus, eldest surviving son of Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy. See p. 110, notes 4 and 6.

[2] Aiguebelle. Mundy's spelling of the name of this place and also of Aiguebelette is peculiar. Compare *Lansdowne MS.* 720, fol. 532, "Aiguebelle....Petite ville apres laquelle s'eslargit une petite plaine entouree de montaignes par laquelle on va à Montmillan tenant le droict chemin." Compare also Gainsford, *Glory of England*, p. 27, "The towne of Aguabelle is scituated at the foot of a great rocke, as if it lay asleepe in the lap of security. By it runnes the river of Arck." Symonds calls the place Egbelle (*vide Appendix* G).

[3] Symonds and other contemporary travellers do not mention this inn. When Johnson visited the place in 1828, *Traveller's Guide*, p. 38, he "endeavoured to get shelter for the night but the inn was too wretched." Pindar's train does not appear to have stopped at La Chambre, the usual halting place between St Jean de Maurienne and Aiguebelle.

[4] Montmélian. Compare *Lansdowne MS.* 720, fol. 20, "Montmillian. ...Petite ville sur le pied d'une haulte montaigne, où y a un chasteau sur le sommet d'un roc." Compare also *Sloane MS.* 4217, fol. 14, "From Chambery we passed by the strong fort of Montemelian...commanding all the valley front." See Gainsford's description, *Glory of England*, p. 96, and Symonds' remarks quoted in *Appendix* G.

[5] In the *Rawl.* copy of Mundy's *Travels*, here follows a double-page map of France and the South of England, by Hondius, undated, showing Mundy's various routes by sea and land. On the reverse of the second page of the map are the following remarks in the author's own handwriting:—"Whereas in this mappe are two passages through the whole kingdome of Fraunce described by two red lines, one from Pont debeauvoisin on the borders of Savoy, and the other from Diep unto Bayon: the first is punctually deciphered from place to place: But the other wee Rid post and took no perticuler notice of places. Only I remember wee past through Roan, Paris, Orleauns, Burdeaux and Bayon. Therefore I drew a Red line at all adventure from either of these places to the other. But I Remember that one night wee went downe a River in a boate, and that wee saw the Citty of Poitiers on our Right hand standing on a hill. I conceave wee came downe the River Loire from Orleauns, for heere the River maketh an angle."

[6] In the margin the author has "Schamberly=Shambery," and, in his *Index*, "Shamberree, a nett Citty, the Cheifest in Savoy."

Gabelletta[1]. Wee lodged att the Golden Aple without the Gate[2], a Compleat howse and very good entertainement, this Cittie being the fairest wee saw within the Alpes and the laste, handsome comely buildings tiled with slates, makeinge a beautifull shew, and great store of good ground round about. All the Townes wee sawe among the Alpes (this and St. Johns[3] excepted) were very poorely built and as poorely inhabited, beinge all Labourers of that little ground which lyes amonge the Rockey Mountaines, there lowe howses covered with greate Slates[4] of stone, the poore people many of them haveing greate Wenns under their Chinns, ordinarily as bigg as two fists, but some of them as bigg as a mans head[5]. Schamberly differs altogether, haveing faire, great, stronge buildings, comely people, beinge plentifull of all things and very populous, scituated in a valley with a pleasant peece of Countrey round about[6]. There being yett one Mountaine

[1] Aiguebelette.

[2] I have found no other reference to this inn. *The Gentleman's Guide* of 1787, which characterises all the inns on this route as "abominable," says that Chambery is one of "the best places to repose at."

[3] *i.e.* St Jean de Maurienne.

[4] The B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, has "Plates."

[5] Symonds has some very amusing remarks with regard to the prevalence of goître and the cause of the disease (*vide Appendix* G). Compare *Lansdowne MS.* 720, fol. 531, "Ceux de ce pays ont la plus grand part (comme aussy par toute la Savoye) une louppe soubs la gorge qui n'est moins grosse des deux poings ensemble à cause de quoy ils sont appellez les Gouns de Savoye, et ceste enfleure la göetre laquelle ne procedde que de la grande froiddeur des eaux qu'ilz boivent qui ne viennent que de nieges fondues, estimee la pire de toutes les eaux avec celle de glace." Compare also Coulon, *Les Rivieres de France*, vol. ii. p. 123, "Chambery...est embellie de plusieurs fontaines d'eau vive...cela n'empesche pas que plusieurs des habitants n'ayent une enfleure de gorge, qu'on nomme Goitre, qui est une incommodité presque commune à tous les Savoyards, causée par la froideur des eaux." See also Coryat, who describes the swelling as of the size of a "foote-ball." *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 223.

[6] Compare *Rawl. MS.* D. 1685 (*Sir Thomas Abdy's Travels*), "July 1633, Chambery, capitale ville de la Savoye, qui est au Duc d'icelle en tiltre, mais au Roy de France en effet, le Frere naturel de ce Duc y gouverne pour le present." For other descriptions of

to crosse over, att one end whereof is a Lake stored with fish[1].

The 22nd. August, 1620. Haveinge passed over the Mountaine[2], being very steepy upp and downe, wee came to Gabelletta (6 miles), lyeing att the foote thereof on the other side, and there wee dined att the Posthowse[3]. From thence to Pont de Beauvoisin, where my Lord tarried for us. In the midle of this Towne is a bridge over a little River[4] which parteth France and Savoy, halfe of the said bridge belonging to the one, and thother halfe to thother with the Inhabitants that dwell on their sides[5].

The 23rd. August, 1620. About noone wee came to Bargueen (10 miles)[6], and dined att the Posthowse[7]; from thence to Avertpiller (4 miles)[8], and lay also att the Posthowse.

Chambéry see *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 217; Dumont, *A New Voyage to the Levant*, p. 53; *A Tour in France and Italy*, p. 23; and Symonds' description, quoted in *Appendix* G.

[1] *i.e.* The Lac d'Aiguebelette. Coryat describes it as "an exceeding great standing poole." *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 215. Compare Coulon, *Les Rivieres de France*, vol. ii. p. 49, "Il y a...quelques lacs qui nourissent force poissons, dont les plus renommez sont ceux de Nissy...et d'Aiguebelette."

[2] Compare *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 215, "Aiguebelette, which is the first Alp"; and *Sloane MS.* 4217, fol. 14, "A very high hill called le Mont Aiguebelette." In the map of Savoy by Hondius (see note 6 on p. 109) the mountain is marked as the "Col de l'Aiguebelette." Symonds calls it "Le Montagne de Gibelet" (*vide Appendix* G).

[3] Compare *Lansdowne MS.* 720, fol. 18, "Aiguebelette....Petite ville autrement appellée La Guybelette." This spelling probably accounts for the author's "Gabelletta." There is still an inn at Aiguebelette called La Poste.

[4] The Guier, a tributary of the Rhone.

[5] See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 215. See also Symonds' remarks, quoted in *Appendix* G.

[6] Bourgoin. The author has "Barguin" in the margin.

[7] La Poste was still the chief inn at Bourgoin as late as 1828 when Johnson dined there. See *Traveller's Guide*, p. 33.

[8] La Verpillière. In *Lansdowne MS.* 720, fol. 17, this place is called La Volpiliere. Coryat has Vorpillère, *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 214.

The 24th. August, 1620. Wee came to the Cittie of Lyons (12 miles)[1], great and populous, through which runneth two Rivers[2], one of them haveinge twenty and odd floatinge mills[3], like to those of Belgrade although they are much inferior in Beautie and bignes. This place is of great Traffique, aboundinge with Merchants and Shoppkeepers[4]. Wee lodged at the three flowre de Luces[5], a very faire and well furnished howse. The hyre of our horses from Turin hither cost nine Venetian Chekeens[6] each.

The 25th. August, 1620. This eveninge all the Attendants departed Lyons, and that night wee came to Tarrara (18 miles)[7], haveing ridd post att 20 solz[8] or 2s. per horse per stage, and a Stage some four, some five English miles; my Lord etts. being to come after.

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[1] The author has "Lions" in the margin.

[2] "Two rivers, viz. Saone and Rhosne or Rhodanus; the last runneth downe by Marseilles both meeting in one." Author's marginal note, added in his own writing and not found in the B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286.

[3] Compare *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 206, "Over this River (Rhodanus) also there is a very faire Bridge, and ten pretie water Milles I sawe on the water neere to the Bridge, seven on one side, and three on the other." For the mills at Belgrade, see p. 73.

[4] See Symonds' description of Lyons, quoted in *Appendix* G. Compare also *Rawl. MS.* D. 120, fol. 32, *Travels* (in 1648), "Lyons.... This city which surpasseth most townes of Europe...comprehends within the circuit of her walls, mountaines and plaines, gardens, vineyards &c....for a city so remote from the sea it is the richest of France."

[5] Coryat, in 1608, "lay at the signe of the three Kings, which is the biggest Inne in the whole citie." (*Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 211.) In 1675, Englefield (*Rawl. MS.* D. 197) remarks, "Our Lodging att Lions...was the white Lionn att one Mr Lafrueurs a coukes shop." I have found no other mention of the inn where Mundy lodged.

[6] See note 2 on p. 26. Reckoning the sequin at nine shillings, the cost of travelling from Turin to Lyons (110 miles according to the author's computation) was about £4 per horse.

[7] Tarare. Symonds (*vide Appendix* G) says, "Wee lay at Terrara in a hole, a little bourg unwald."

[8] The sol, or sou, a coin worth 12 deniers or about 1½d. English.

The 26th. August, 1620. With Posthorses also, wee came to Rovana[1], a Towne on the River of Loire, where my Lord and gentlemen overtooke us.

The 27th. August, 1620. There were two boates hired from hence to Orleance[2] att Ten French Crownes[3] per boate, one for my Lord and gentlemen and the other for the Attendants, in which wee departed, and that Eveninge wee came to Marseenee (10 miles)[4], haveing bene aground noe lesse then twentie tymes this day. The River of Loire att present very shallowe but in winter exceedinge broad and deepe.

The 28th. August, 1620. In our way hither (St. Albuins, 20 miles)[5] wee were a ground as many tymes to day as wee were Yesterdaye.

The 29th. August, 1620. This (Deseesa, 20 miles)[6] is a stronge walled Towne with a stone bridge, and by reason wee came late, wee lodged without the walls.

The 30th. August, 1620. Wee came to Novers (12 miles), a faire and stronge Cittie with a stone bridge

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[1] Roanne. See Symonds' account of Roanne, quoted in *Appendix* G. He mentions the two chief inns of the place.

[2] Compare *Rawl. MS.* D. 120, fol. 32, *Travels* (in 1648), "Roane, built on the river Loire, and is the first towne where the river beares boates." Compare also Du Verdier, *Le Voyage de France*, p. 101, "Roane...est assis sur la rive gauche de Loire, et commence là de porter bateau, bien que ce soit trente lieues de la source. On s'y embarque pour Orleans." See also Coulon, *Les Rivieres de France*, vol. i. p. 254.

[3] The common English name, in the seventeenth century, for the French écu, worth about 4s. 6d. The cost of boat hire from Roanne to Orleans was higher when Symonds made the journey in 1648 (*vide Appendix* G).

[4] Marcigny. "Marsigni, celebre Monastere des religieuses de Cluny." Coulon, *Les Rivieres de France*, vol. i. p. 254.

[5] *i.e.* St Aubin-sur-Loire.

[6] Decize. Compare Coulon, *Les Rivieres de France*, vol. i. p. 259, "Decise est une ville ainsi nommée pour avoir esté bastie sur le fonds d'une petite Isle, detachée de terre ferme par artifice, pour la rendre plus forte."

also[1]. Wee stayed not, but proceeded to another stronge Towne called La Charite (12 miles) with a stone bridge[2], where wee went on shoare that night; and this day I gott an Ague because I tooke a little too much paines in roweing for my pleasure.

The 31th. August, 1620. A myle from the River stands Sansare (10 miles), upon a little hill, A Castle of Protestants, accounted one of the strongest holds they have in France[3]: From thence to Severall Towns as they stand in the Margent (Cone, 4 miles[4]; Neuce, 8 miles[5]; Bone, 2 miles[6]; Ossun, 2 miles[7]; Brearee, 4 miles[8]), Lastly to

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[1] Nevers. Compare *Lansdowne MS.* 720, fol. 3, "Nevers...en laquelle y a...pont de pierre." Compare also Gainsford, *Glory of England*, p. 117, "On the river of Loire washing clean the fields with his strange overflowings are erected Cosme, Le Charity, the Citie of Nevers with her long bridge...and many other towns." Coulon, in his *Fidele Conducteur*, p. 123, writes of Nevers, "Son pont est magnifique, basty de pierres de tailles, et soutenu de vingt arcades, d'une riche structure, avec des pont-levis aux deux bouts, et des tours pour battre aux avenues." See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 198, where the bridge is described as of wood, and Du Verdier, *Le Voyage de France*, p. 103.

[2] "La Charite...ou y a un fort beau et long pont de pierre de taille." *Lansdowne MS.* 720, fol. 2. Compare Coulon, *Le Fidele Conducteur*, p. 122, "La Charité merita de porter ce beau nom pour les grandes liberalitez, qu'y exercoient autrefois les Moynes de Cluny envers les pauvres et les Pelerins. On y voit un beau pont de pierre sur le Loire." For Symonds' description of La Charité see *Appendix* G.

[3] Sancerre. Compare Coulon, *Le Fidele Conducteur*, p. 273, "Sancerre...cette ville estoit assez recommandable dans les escrits des Anciens sous le nom de Sacrum Cereris, pource qu'on y adoroit Ceres, la Deese des bleds; ou plustost sous celui de Sacrum Caesaris, comme qui diroit l'Oratoire de Cesar." See also Du Verdier, *Le Voyage de France*, p. 104. Symonds calls the place Sainct Loire and says it was known as "Papauté des Huguenots" (*vide Appendix* G).

[4] Cosne. Symonds has "Coane" and "Cone sur Loyre" (*vide Appendix* G).

[5] *i.e.* Neuvy-sur-Loire. The place is marked as Neuvy in a map of 1701 (B.M. 1063. 2).

[6] *i.e.* Bonny. Symonds has "Bone" and "Bony" (*vide Appendix* G).

[7] The modern spelling of this place is Ousson.

[8] *i.e.* Briare. In Hondius' map of France (see note 5 on p. 116) this place is marked as Briart. See Symonds' remarks on Briare, quoted in *Appendix* G.

Gean (4 miles)[1], a stronge Towne. Here wee lodged att a Protestants howse. All the Townes aforesaid, excepting Sansare, stand close to the Rivers side.

The First September, 1620. From Gean wee came to Sulitt (10 miles)[2]; from thence to San Benitt (4 miles)[3]; from thence to Chasteau Neufe (6 miles)[4], where was a Castle, from thence to Gerseaue (4 miles)[5]; and from thence to the Cittie of Orleaunce (10 miles). Wee came from Rouana hither downe the river of Loire, whereon wee sawe in our way att least one hundred and fifty floatinge Mills[6], and were aground twenty or thirty tymes every day. On this river are great store of protestants, and whole Townes of them. In this Cittie is a very faire stone bridge with shopps and buildings on it; Alsoe the Image of the Maid of Orleaunce kneeling on the one side of the Image of our Lady, and the Kinge kneeling on the other side, all artificially cast in brasse[7]. Of this

[1] *i.e.* Gien. Coulon, *Les Rivieres de France*, gives the route from Sancerre as follows:—"De Sancerre on vogues jusques à Cosne sur les frontiers du Nivernois...et de Cosne à Neuvy....De Neuvy on descend à Briare...de Briare...on se rend à Bonny....De Bonny on coule à Giem ville très ancienne et garnie d'un beau pont sur le Loire....Les Protestants s'en saisirent au commencement de leur revolte, mais les Catholiques la reprirent bien tost."

[2] Sully. *Lansdowne MS.* 720, fol. 1, has "Sully, petite ville assez forte." Compare Coulon, *Les Rivieres de France*, vol. i. p. 277, "Entre Giem et Jergeau l'on void sur la main gauche la Duché de Suilly avec les vestiges d'un ancien pont."

[3] St Benoit, named from its Abbey.

[4] Châteauneuf-sur-Loire.

[5] Jargeau. In Hondius' map of France (see note 5 on p. 116) this place is marked as Gergeant.

[6] See pp. 73 and 119.

[7] Compare *Harl. MS.* 288, fol. 284, *Directions to Travellers* (*circ.* 1620), "Orleans...where you may see...a statue of brasse of the Pucel de Orleans." Compare also *Rawl. MS.* D. 120, fol. 2, *Travels* (in 1648), "Orleuns. This City in the account of many is reconned the second of France though (in my Judgement) it may content it selfe with a third or fourth place; its seated on the river Loire, the streets are the brodest of any that I have seene in France, the buildings but ordinary." For full descriptions of the statues on the bridge at Orleans see Du Verdier, *Le Voyage de France*, p. 83, and Coulon, *Le Fidele Conducteur*, p. 126.

Mayde the French report miraculous exploits done by her against the English att, and after there beseidging of the Cittie. Our comeinge late and departinge early occaisoned brevitie in relateinge[1] other perticulers worth notice in this famous place.

Heere were Coaches hyred for Paris att 4 livers 4 solz[2] per man, and 1 solz per pound weight lumberment. The Boatemen that come downe from Rouana, as others that come downe the River, att their arrivall heere sell their boates, because they are not worth the labour to be carried backe against the streame, being but slightlie made. All the Countrey downe the River very pleasant and full of Citties, Townes, villages and buildings, meadowes, gardens, etts.

The 2d. September, 1620. Wee came to Artenee (12 miles)[3], and from thence to Tore (8 miles)[4], where wee lay att the three flowre de Luces[5]. All the way hither on a Cawsye, and the Countrie on both sides soe pleasant, plaine and Levell as I never sawe the like, all tillage ground[6]. Halfe a mile from Orleaunce were two men executed, one hanged on a Tree, and the other layd on a wheele.

The 3d. September, 1620. In the morninge wee departed and came to Angere (8 miles)[7], and from thence to Estant

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[1] In the margin Mundy has written, "Omission in observing." This note is not in the B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286.

[2] See note 4 on p. 98, and note 4 on p. 100.

[3] Artenay. Pindar and his train left the Loire at Orleans and travelled direct to Paris by the route now followed by the railway.

[4] Toury.

[5] I have found no other mention of this inn.

[6] Compare Du Verdier, *Le Voyage de France*, p. 77 f., "Le chemin de Paris à Orleans est pavé la plus grand part, et sur iceluy se voyent plusieurs villes et Bourgs bien agreables, comme Longjumeau... Chastres...Estampes...on void après plusieurs lieux moindres, et entr'autres Angerville, Thoury et Artenay, le chemin qu'on fait d'icy à Orleans est fort agreable en son vignoble et comme planté de quantité d'arbres."

[7] Angerville.

(12 miles)[1], where wee dined, and then to Chatres, where wee lay att the three Blacke moores[2]. Halfe the way as plaine as yesterdayes, but the other halfe a little Hillie, though pleasant, fruitefull, and full of Townes[3].

The 4th. September, 1620. Wee came to Longmewe (6 miles)[4], and then to Belarena (4 miles)[5], and from thence to the Cittie of Paris (4 miles). Halfe a mile before wee came neere, were four men on wheeles[6], two whereof were gentlemen that had killed a Couzin of Mounseir le Grande[7]. Hereabouts I had like to have bene served a prettie trick with a Copper Chaine. From Chatres hither all the way wonderfully peopled and Inhabited, whereof most walled Townes. I my selfe from a little riseinge did tell neere 100 Townes small and greate, all in sight att one tyme. Wee lodged att the Iron Crosse in St. Martins streete[8].

The 5th. September, 1620. Mr Davis[9], Mr Wilson[10] and my selfe went to see the Cittie; and first wee sawe one of the Bridges over which we passed, not knoweinge then but it was a streete, having shopps and dwellings on either side from end to end, lyeing levill with the rest of the

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[1] Etampes.

[2] The modern Arpajon. Châtres, on the river Orge, eight leagues from Paris, was, a hundred years after Mundy's visit, adjudged to be comprised within the Marquisate of Arpajon and thenceforth became generally known under the latter designation. It, however, appears as Châtres as late as 1770. See the map prefixed to *The Gentleman's Guide in his Tour through France.*

[3] See *ante*, p. 123, note 6.

[4] Longjumeau.

[5] Bourg-la-Reine. Coryat calls the place Chappel de la Royne, *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 195.

[6] See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 196.

[7] Gaston-Jean-Baptiste de France, Duke of Orleans (1608—1660), brother of Louis XIII., known by the title of Monsieur.

[8] "Paris...vous entrerez dans cette ville...pour y prendre tel logis que vous aviserez...en la rue Saint Martin, ou autre qui ne manquera non plus que celle-là de vous presenter logis commode." Du Verdier, *Le Voyage de France*, p. 73.

[9] See pp. 41 and 46.

[10] See pp. 41, 44, 48 and 76.

Cittie[1]: likewise the new bridge[2], beinge very stronge large and faire, on the which is an Ingenious howse for conveyance of water, curiously built and beautified with Turretts, fine devices, etts., a Clock and dyall; also the Statue of a maide cast in brasse with a buckett in her hand, wherewith shee seemeth to powre out the water, which indeed runneth with a very full streame[3] out of the said Buckett and by Pipes is conveyed to the Loure[4] or Kings howse. Att one end of the said bridge is the Statue of king Henry 4th. mounted on horseback of exceedinge greatnes, and workemanshipp of brasse also, sent him by the Duke of Florence[5].

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[1] This bridge was either the Pont Notre-Dame or the Pont Saint Michel. Compare Du Verdier, *Le Voyage de France*, p. 228, "Le Pont Nostre-Dame, et celuy de saint Michel ont esté bastis de pierre, le premier depuis l'an 1507, sous le Roy Louis XII. Avec six arches et 68 maisons de mesme hauteur et largeur aux deux costez: Aux quatre coins sont des tourelles, et au milieu des Images de Nostre-Dame et de saint Denys, avec les armes de Paris au dessous, il a esté tres-bien pavé de nouveau. Le Pont Saint Michel ayant esté basty sous Charles VI. s'abbatit l'an 1546, et fut depuis refait avec des maisons basties aux deux costez de hauteur égale." See also *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 171, Heylyn, *A Full Relation of Two Journeys*, p. 90, and Coulon, *Le Fidele Conducteur*, p. 28.

[2] The Pont Neuf was not quite finished when Coryat visited Paris in 1608. See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 171.

[3] In the British Museum copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, the words "out of the said Buckett and by Pipes is conveyed" are omitted.

[4] The Louvre.

[5] Compare *Rawl. MS.* D. 197, *Travels* (in 1648), "The river Senne crosses the new brige of Paris of a greate bredthe and Lengthe, on both sides are Large high walks paved with frie stone for people tow walke ovre. Their is the pictur of Hennery the 4 of France on horsback upon a greatt breson horse with 4 sclaves chained tow his horse all of brass. The horse stands upon a high mount of white and black marble. Round itt are Iron bars soe that noe man can tutch itt." Compare also *Sloane MS.* 2142, *Journal of a Voyage* (in 1658), fol. 2 f.:—"The Pont Neufe which is between the Louvre and the Convent of Augustins was begun to be built under Henry the third, 1578. It contains twelve Arches. At the 12th. Arch of that Bridge on the side of the Louvre is erected a Pomp which mounts the water from the River and represents the Samaratine pouring out water to Christ. Upon it is a Clocke which markes the houres in the forenoone in ascending, and after dinner in descending. In the middle of the Arch is a statue of Brasse representing Henry the

From thence to Rue Toroone[1], where resideth the English Ambassador[2], And a stately Pallace now building for the Queene mother[3].

From thence to the Loure[4], where first wee sawe a very rich hall, the walls of Marble and Jasper, the floore Marble, white and black, adorned with Jasper pillars, the rooffe most richly guilt and excellently painted with the twelve signes[5], seven Plannetts and four Seasons of the yeare. Att the one end stood a marble Statue of Diana, the same that was att Ephesus (as they say), with the one hand on the Hornes of a deere (standinge Close

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great on horse backe. On the four sides of the marble Pillar on which the statue is placed, are graven the Principal victoryes of the King."

"The yeare 1614....The Statue of Brasse of Henry the Great, was by the great Duke of Tuscany sent to Paris, and placed with the Horse of Brasse, upon the midst of the New Bridge." *An Epitome of All the Lives of the Kings of France*, p. 338.

For other seventeenth century descriptions of the Pont Neuf see Coulon, *Le Fidele Conducteur*, p. 27; Du Verdier, *Le Voyage de France*, p. 236; Heylyn, *A Full Relation of Two Journeys*, p. 90; and *A Tour in France and Italy* (1675), p. 6.

[1] *i.e.* the Rue de Tournon in the Faubourg St Germain. The street still bears the same name.

[2] The English Ambassador in Paris at the time of Mundy's visit was Edward Herbert, first Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1583—1648), who had been appointed in 1619. He furnished a house at great expense in the Faubourg St Germain. For a full account of his life and diplomatic career see the *Dict. of Nat. Biography*.

[3] The Luxembourg or Palais d'Orléans, built by Jacques Delrosse for Marie de Medicis. Compare Abdy's description of the palace in 1633, *Rawl. MS.* D. 1285, "Wee...came to Paris, where we saw the Queenes Mothers house, a worke not yet finished, but yet of excellent raritie, there being one walke before the front of the house pavd with blacke and white marble, the pillars encompassing it being also of the same, a gallerie of competent height hung with pictures all representing the story of the life of the Queene Mother even from her infancie to this present. There we saw roomes richly Gilded even beyond admiration." Compare also Du Verdier, *Le Voyage de France*, p. 75, "L'Hostel de Luxembourg, basty par la Reine, Ayeule de Roy, Marie de Medecis, qui est sans difficulté le plus beau logis qui soit dans Paris."

See also Coulon, *Le Fidele Conducteur*, p. 30.

[4] "Loure, the kings howse in Paris." Author's *Index*.

[5] *i.e.* of the Zodiac.

by her), and the other on her quiver[1]. There were divers other Statues of Gods and Godesses of great Antiquitie, as appeared by their Duskie coulour of Marble[2], also, in the midle, there hunge downe from the rooffe a Spheire which (as they say) would shew the moveings of the Heavens, Ecclipses, etts. motions of the Sunn, Moone and Starrs; but then it was out of frame.

From thence to an other large Hall, where were pictured divers Kings and Queenes of France, The Kings with their Sonnes on th' one side, and the Queenes with their daughters on the other[3]. Att the upper end stood King Henry 4th. with his Queene Marie de Medicis, on whose gowne the Painter had soe farr strained his Art that it almost deceaved the sight, soe exquisitly shadowed that it really appeared to bee blew velvett. Her picture by report cost 6000 Crownes the makeinge[4].

From thence to the longe Gallery, conteyning from one end to an other about 600 ordinary stepps of a man, the one side full of windowes, lookeing downe into the River and the Kings Gardens[5], full of curious knotts and rare Inventions, the other side of the said Gallery was plaine, but intended to bee adorned with excellent Statues

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[1] "Diane à la biche," among the "Ancient Sculptures," in the Salle du Tibre. Compare Coulon, *Le Fidele Conducteur*, p. 49, "Le Louvre....On y void une sale des Antiques remplie de pieces curieuses, comme est une Diane d'Ephese."

[2] The author is alluding to the "Ancient Sculptures" in the Musée des marbres antiques. See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 173.

[3] See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 174, and Symonds' description of the Louvre, quoted in *Appendix* G. See also Coulon, *Le Fidele Conducteur*, pp. 25 and 49.

[4] This full length portrait of Marie de Medicis, which is still in the Louvre, was painted by Pourbus (1540—1622).

[5] Compare *Sloane MS.* 2142, fol. 3 (1658), "There is a very fine garden belonging to it [the Louvre], at one side whereof is a high Alley al paved with stone, and set al along with Orange trees. There is also a very faire gallery on another part of the house furnished with the Pictures of many of the Kings and Queenes of France. Out of this gallery there is another, which goes al along the River and is soe long that the end of it can be very hardly discovered." See also Coulon, *Le Fidele Conducteur*, p. 39.

and pictures, but not yett finished[1]. From thence to other the kings roomes, all carved, painted, guilded, and hunge with Cloth of Arras[2]. From thence to the Queenes Cabbinett, being a litle square roome exceedinge all the rest for admirable workemanshipp in paintinge and guildinge, there beinge the Younge Kinge and Queenes picture, also of King Henry his father and the Queene his Mother, with divers other curiosities[3] (The King, the Queene, as also the English Ambassador then att Potiers)[4].

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[1] Compare *A Tour in France and Italy* (1675), p. 3, "The Louvre has only one end, and one side of it finish'd; and when the rest shall be added, will be one of the most extraordinary Pallaces in the World, both as to its Greatness and Figure, not any in Italy resembling it in either: Behind it is the great Garden of the Tuilleries, which is near half as long as St. James's Park: Is prettily planted with Firr-Trees, Cypress, etc., and would be very fine, were they grown up, and that it had Gravel-Walks. Beyond this, is the Cour de la Reyne, a place by the River-side, set with Trees about a Mile long, like the great Walk in St. James's Park: wherein the Coaches take the Air in the Evening, and with some jostling, pass and turn, there being in the middle, and at the end, round places for that purpose." See also *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 175.

[2] Compare *Sloane MS.* 2142, fol. 3 (1658), "The Louvre is the Lodging ordinarily of the King when he is at Paris. The building is one of the statelyest of France and the Kings Lodgings as thick as any mortal man can be ambitious off. In the Chamber where he lyes is a place where his bed stands, which is al raild in with great rayles of massy silver." See also *A Tour in France and Italy*, p. 3.

[3] Compare *Rawl. MS.* D. 197, fol. 4 f., *Travels* (in 1648), "I went in the morneing tow see the Louer the Kings pallace itt is a vast Sumtius Building of polliched stone the bigest and finest home in Europe. Wee saw the Kings the Quines the Dauphins and the young Duke of Orlianes Quarters all which are for the most part wennescoted butt excellently carved and gilt and painted by the best masters of France most of Romantick storis and fables. The seating of the roumes are the like butt much finer....The Roume of Audience is very Long, most excellently well gilt, painted and foull of great rich Chints, the hangings are of cloth of Goulde imbraded with silver, the flower of the Louer is all of wood excellently in Laide."...

Compare also *Sloane MS.* 2142, fol. 3, "The Chamber and Cabinett of the Queenes are as stately and rich as that of the Kings and replenished with very fine and rare Pictures." For further accounts see *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 173 and *A Tour in France and Italy* (1675), p. 3.

[4] After the reconciliation of Louis XIII. with his mother, Marie de Medicis, at Brissac, in August, 1620, the king went to Poitiers to put the affairs of Guienne in order. See *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France sous les Regnes de Louis XIII. et Louis XIV.*, vol. i. p. 185.

Then wee past over the drawe bridge where the Marquesse de Ancres was slaine by the Kings Commaundement[1]: Soe to Rue Pharaon, where the last King was Killed by Ravilliacke[2]. Hard by stands Innocents church, rounde about whose Churchyard were great Storehowses full of Deadmens bones, manifest to sight through the Barrs, also many of them made into a wall with morter; others lay scattered heere and there under mens feete. They report that the earth of this Church yard hath this quallitie more then others, that in few dayes it consumes the dead bodyes of those that are layed therein, leaveinge nothinge but the very bones[3].

Afterwards to the Exchange, of which little can bee said, it consistinge only of a fiew shopps, where they sell bands, gloves, girdles, Garters etts.[4] And from thence to

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[1] The Maréchal d'Ancre met his death by the orders of Louis XIII. on the 24th April, 1617. He was attacked by Vitri and his followers in the middle of the drawbridge over the fosse of the Louvre. Compare *Rawl. MS.* D. 1285 *Travels* (in 1633), "We were showen the place where Le Marsheshall d'Ancre was pistold by Monsieur de Vitry the King himselfe being at the window and looking on." For an account of the town house of the Maréchal d'Ancre, see *Appendix* G.

[2] Henri IV. was assassinated by François Ravaillac on the 14th May, 1610, in the Rue de la Ferronerie. The following quaint account of the murder is given in *An Epitome of all the Lives of the Kings of France*, p. 339 f., "This great King [Henri IV.] was on Friday the 14. of May, 1610 about foure in the afternoon most trayterously murthered in his Caroch with two stabbs with a knife neare the region of his heart, passing in the Streete of the Ferronery neare the Charnells of the Innocents Churchyard, by Francis Ravaillac borne in Angolesme."

Compare Pococke, *Travels* (in 1733), *Add. MS.* 22078, fol. 30, "We went to see the Street Ferronerie where Harry 4 was assassinated." The Rue de la Ferronerie lies between the Rue des Halles and the Rue St. Denis.

[3] Compare *Rawl. MS.* D. 120, fol. 2, *Travels* (in 1648), "Paris... I say [saw] the churchyard of St. Innocents which devoures and digests dead bodyes (all but the bones) in 24 howres." See also Symonds' description, quoted in *Appendix* G.

[4] Compare the two following widely different opinions about the Exchange at Paris:—"As for their exchange where they sell many fine and curious things, there are two or three pretty walks in it, but neither for length, nor for the roofe nor the exquisite workmanship

the great Church of our Lady with two great Steeples, one of which wee ascended[1], from whence wee saw the prospect of the whole Cittie to our great wonder, as well for the greatnesse as beautie thereof, being neere to roundnes, very thick and close built, with few wast places. Att the topp of this Tower is a Gallery to passe to thother, but the passage stopt upp. In this were fowre great Bells. Allmost all the Townes from Orleaunce hitherto, both small and great, were walled, some but slightly, and others more stronglie.

The 6th. September, 1620. Haveinge hired Coaches from Paris to Callis, at 40 Crownes[2] per Coach, wee departed, leveing Signor Dominico behinde with a feavour[3], and Vincentio[4] to attend him; and passinge through sundery Townes vizt. St. Deenes (4 miles)[5], Pierra feeta (2 miles)[6],

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is it any way to be compared with ours in London." *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 172.

"The exchange which is a greatt Hall paved with a stone like white and black marble, itt is nerely braude and long, the chops are roung greate heigh pillars so that itt Loukes with inn finer then our exchange, their are close by Sum Long walkes foull of boukecellers chops and other sort of things." *Rawl. MS.* D. 197, fol. 5.

[1] Coulon, *Le Fidele Conducteur*, p. 36, has a long description of Notre Dame. He mentions "les deux Grandes Tours, ou l'on monte par 389 degrez."

Compare Heylyn, *A Full Relation of two Journeys*, p. 69, "Nostre Dame...hath...at the front two Towers of admirable beauty; they are both of an equal height, and are each of them 377 steps in the ascent. From hence we could clearly see the whole circuite of Paris, and each severall street of it." See also *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 172 and Symonds' description, quoted in *Appendix* G.

[2] See note 3 on p. 120.

[3] The Dragoman. See p. 42.

[4] A Greek. See p. 43, where he is called Vincento Castello.

[5] St Denis. See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 169 and Symonds' remarks, quoted in *Appendix* G. Compare Heylyn's droll description of the place, *A Full Relation of two Journeys*, p. 54, "St. Denis has a wall of a large circuit, and very much unproportionable to the Town, which standeth in it, for all the world like a Spaniards little face in his great ruffe, or like a small chop of Mutton in a large dish of pottage at the three penny Ordinary."

[6] Pierrefitte. Du Verdier, *Le Voyage de France*, p. 321, has "Pierre fricte ou ficte, une lieue de Saint Dennys."

St. Breesa (2 miles)[1], Moisea (2 miles)[2], Beaumont (6 miles), a faire Towne with a river[3], and so from thence att Eveninge to Pisew (4 miles)[4], where wee lodged att the Crowne.

The 7th. September, 1620. From Pisew wee came to Tilliare (6 miles)[5]; from thence to the Cittie of Beauvais (6 miles)[6], and dined att the Christopher; from whence wee came to a poore Towne called Lehero (10 miles)[7], where wee had as poore entertainment.

The 8th. September, 1620. Wee came to Pouy (10 miles)[8], and dined att the Dolphine, and from thence to Pondormy (14 miles), a walled Towne[9], and lay att the Crowne.

The 9th. September, 1620. Wee came to the Cittie of

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[1] St Brice. See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 168. Du Verdier, *Le Voyage de France*, p. 321, has "Saint Prix."

[2] Moisselles. Du Verdier has "Moixelles."

[3] See Symonds' account of Beaumont in *Appendix* G. The town is situated on the Oise.

[4] Pisieux. [5] Tillart.

[6] See *Appendix* G for Symonds' description of Beauvais. Compare *Rawl. MS.* D. 120, fol. 34, "Passing by Bovy Abervill and some other townes and at length (but not without much danger) arrived at Calis." For Mundy's route from Paris to Beauvais, compare Coulon, *Le Fidele Conducteur*, p. 55, "De St. Denys vous allez par un bon chemin et passez par les villages de Pierre Ficte, St. Brixe, Moiselle,...puis par Beaumont petite ville, par l'Abbaye de Pisieux,... Tillart,...et de la vous arrivez à Beauvais, distant environ de dix-huict lieuës de Paris. Beauvais est une ville ancienne de figure ronde, environnée de bons fossez presque tous remplis d'eau, et ceinte de murailles de pierre de taille blanche."

[7] Apparently a copyist's error for Le Hamel, a village lying midway between Beauvais and Poix.

[8] Poix de Picardy. See *Appendix* G.

[9] Originally Pont d'Armée, now Pont Remy. Compare Heylyn, *A Full Relation of two Journeys*, p. 186, "The next place of note that the water conveied us to, was the Town and Castle of Pont d'Arme: a place now scarce visible in the ruines, and belonging to one Mr. Quercy. It took name, as they say, from a bridge here built for the transportation of an Army; but this I cannot justifie."

Coulon, *Les Rivieres de France*, vol. i. p. 29, speaks of Pont de Remy, a bridge over the Somme.

See also Symonds' remarks on Pont d'Armée in *Appendix* G.

Abbeville (4 miles)[1], and there stayinge only to breake fast and change one of our horses, wee sett out of Towne, accompanied with one Captaine Thorneton, an Englishman[2], whoe had lived there thirty two yeres. Wee dined att Bearne (10 miles)[3], a poore Towne; and from thence to Montariell (10 miles), a small Cittie, with three walls[4].

The 10th. September, 1620. A myle before wee came to Neuf Chastain (10 miles)[5], wee had sight of the narrow Seas, haveing seene noe Sea att all since our departure from Venice: soe came to Bullien (6 miles)[6], and lodged att the Grayhound[7] in the lower Towne. The Upper Towne standeth on a hill, most strongely walled[8], the Maine Sea two or three miles of, from whence came[9] a Creeke to the Towne for small vessells.

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[1] Compare *Sloane MS.* 2142, fol. 2 (1658), "Abbeville...its seated in a watry Countrye, having a River running quite through the Towne: here are excellent good Pistols made heere, which bring much profitt to those that make them."

For further descriptions of Abbeville, see *Appendix* G and *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 160.

[2] I have found no other mention of this individual.

[3] Bernay. See *Appendix* G.

[4] Montreuil-sur-mer. The B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, has Montareil, and Symonds (see *Appendix* G) has Montrill. Compare Coulon, *Le Fidele Conducteur*, p. 60, "Monstreuil, comme qui diroit Mont Royal...ville forte avec une Citadalle." Compare also *Sloane MS.* 2142, fol. 2, "Monstruel...a very strong Towne with a Cittadel, Governor and Garrison."

[5] Neufchâtel, now on the railway. The B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, has Neuf Chasteau. Du Verdier and Coulon have Neufchastel.

[6] Boulogne. "Bullein, a towne in France." Author's *Index*.

[7] Symonds, in 1648, lodged at the Golden Horn in the "low town." See *Appendix* G.

[8] Compare *Stowe MS.* 916, fol. 46, *Travels* (in 1675), "Bologne is a Citty divided into two parts, the higher and the Lower...its Cathedral dedicated to the Blessed Virgin is an Edifice not very Remarkable, it beinge but plaine and noe bigger then the Church of St. Mary Overeys in Southwarke." For other contemporary descriptions of Boulogne, see *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 157 f., Heylyn, *A Full Relation of two Journeys*, p. 195 f., Du Verdier, *Le Voyage de France*, p. 251, Coulon, *Le Fidele Conducteur*, p. 60 and Symonds' description in *Appendix* G.

[9] The B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, has "cometh."

The 11th. September, 1620. Unto the Towne of Marqueesa (8 miles)[1] wee went all alonge on the Sea Coast, and in sight of England. From thence wee came to the stronge Towne of Callias (6 miles). Two miles before our arrivall, from a litle hill wee might see part of the Lowe Countries, as Grevelinge[2] etts. Without the walls of Callaies are neere upon 1000 small Cottages standing in Ranck, though each Cottage is sepperate from th' other, servinge for labourers, Gardners and poore people. Att our entrance att the Gates[3] our Gunns were taken from us by the Guards, but one hower after they were brought us to the Golden head[4], where wee lodged att an Englishmans. Heere is but one Church[5], a faire Markett place[6], where is a Curious Towne built, guilt, and sett forth with pillars and Inventions, haveing many small bells which Chime att certaine howres, makeing also divisions of the quarters, halfes and whole howres. Wee had warning not to approach the walls or Bulwarks upon paine of Imprisonment and further punishment[7].

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[1] Marquise. [2] Gravelines, now in France.

[3] Compare *Rawl. MS.* D. 120, fol. 34, "Calis...this towne is one of the best ports the french have on the ocean, it is the shortest passage to England and the last thing which the English lost of all France...they [the French] have much fortified since and made to the former to (*sic*) other walls and motes to the towne." See also *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 156 and Coulon, *Le Fidele Conducteur*, p. 62.

[4] In 1733, Pococke names the Silver Lyon as the best inn in Calais. *Add. MS.* 22978, fol. 4.

[5] Coryat, however, remarks, "There are two churches in this towne [Calais]." *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 153.

Compare also *Stowe MS.* 916, fol. 45, *Travels* (in 1675), "Calais.... The Great Church onely Remaines unaltered of all the fabricks erected by the English."

[6] See *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 156.

[7] "They have a very strict order in this towne [Calais], that if any stranger of what nation soever he be shal be taken walking by himself, either towards their Fortresse, which they call the Ricebanke or about the greene of the towne, he shall be apprehended by some Souldiers, and carried to the Deputy Governor and committed to safe custody til he hath paid some fee for his ransome." *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. p. 155.

The 12th. September, 1620. There was a Catche[1] hired for twelve French Crownes to carry us to Dover[2], but the Wynde overbloweing, they durst not adventure over the Barr, soe it was deferred till the morninge. The place where shipps and Barques doe lye is a litle Mould[3] or Peere built of Stone and drye att Lowe water.

The 13th. September, 1620. In the morninge wee departed from Callaies, Haveinge a faire wynde, and in three howres and a halfe wee arrived att Dover (20 miles)[4]. Wee cast Anchor neere the Towne, from whence there came a boate and carried us all on shoare; but the Stuffe went about into the Haven, which is as narrow as that at Callais; and drye att lowe water alsoe, heere beinge a bigg place which is filled att full sea, and by a Sluce lett out att Lowe water, when it runs with great voilence, and serveth to scowre the Channell or entrance of the Peere[5]. Wee lay att the Grayhound[6], Mr. Ralph Pindar, my lords brother[7], and Mr. Spike[8] were arrived two howres

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[1] A Catch or Ketch is defined by Murray (*Oxford English Dict.*) as "a strongly-built vessel of the galiot order usually two-masted and of from 100 to 250 tons burden."

[2] See *Appendix* G for Symonds' account of the charges between Calais and Dover. For "French Crownes" see note 3 on p. 120.

[3] *i.e.* mole.

[4] Compare *Rawl. MS.* D. 120, fol. 34, the writer of which had a much shorter passage (in 1649), "From whence [Calais] after two howres being at sea and sufficiently sea sicke I landed again at Dover in England after being abroade sixteen monyths and a halfe."

[5] See Symonds' remarks on the "peere" at Dover, quoted in *Appendix* G.

[6] Symonds also patronised this inn. See *Appendix* G.

[7] Ralph Pindar was Sir Paul Pindar's elder brother and the father of Paul Pindar, Junr. (see p. 41). He appears to have been entrusted with his brother's money affairs during the time Sir Paul was Ambassador at Constantinople. In *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 147, there are several references to sums of money received by Ralph Pindar for the Ambassador during the period, 1614—1620.

[8] The Spikes and the Pindars were connected by marriage. Elizabeth, daughter of Ralph Pindar was the wife of Thomas Spike, a London merchant, who is probably the "Mr. Spike" mentioned by Mundy and a brother of the Laurence Spike, a member of the Ambassador's train (see p. 42).

before, being come from London to meete his Lordshipp.

The 14th. September, 1620. Mr. Lane[1] hired a great Waggon for 3*l.* to Gravesend, whereon the Stuffe was Laden, and with it seaven Servants departed about eleven a Clock; and that Evening wee came to Canterburie (12 miles), and lay att the Checker[2]. Heere wee went to see the Cathedrall Church, being goodly to behold without side, adorned with three faire steeples, and within noe lesse beautifull, rich and curious, haveinge two galleries on high full of small pillars[3], multitude of windowes of coloured glasse, especially the lower great ones, noe lesse admirable and rich then the report goes of them. In this Churche are the Tombes of Henry 4th. King of England with his Queene, Also of Edward the Black Prince in armour of brasse; over him hunge Helmett, coate of Maile, Launce and Sword; Also the Sepulchres of many auntient Bishopps. This Cittie is walled round. It hath eighteen parish Churches[4], faire streets and Shopps well furnished. The countrey hetherto full of prettie Hills, and pleasant vallies, well peopled and manured.

The 15th. September, 1620. Wee came to Sittingbourne (11 miles); from thence to Rochester (11 miles); hard by is Chattam where rides the Kings Shipps. From Rochester (7 miles), wee came to Gravesend and there lodged that night[5].

The 16th. September, 1620. My Lord came to us at

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[1] See p. 42.

[2] The Chequer's Inn, mentioned by Chaucer in his *Canterbury Tales*, was situated in Mercery Lane. Some traces of the building still remain, and the vaulted cellars are in excellent condition. A portion of the old inn is now known as Grafton House.

[3] The Triforium.

[4] *i.e.* including the Cathedral. At the end of the 18th century the number was reduced to twelve by the absorption of the poorest parishes with others more prosperous.

[5] See *Appendix* G for Symonds' Journey over the same ground between London and Dover

Gravesend, haveinge bene deteyned and entertained by the Arch Bishopp of Canterbury[1]. Soe hireing Two boats, called light Horsemen[2], att 20s. each, they brought us to Blackwall (20 miles), where were Five Coaches readye, In which wee came to Islington (4 miles), where wee lay att my lords owne Howse[3].

The 18th. September, 1620. Haveinge taken my leave of his Lordshipp, and humbly thancking him for divers favours received of him, I came to London (2 miles), and lay in Minceinge lane att the howse of Mr. Richard Wyche, brother to my late deceased Master[4], and soe made an end of this longe Journey, haveinge gon by Computation 1838 myles and traversed divers Kingdomes[5].

From London to Constantinople by land by my Computation amounteth unto Miles . . . . . 1838.

Now, although I say by land yett it is to bee understood wee passed from Spalatra[6] to Venice by Sea, but landed every night. Likewise wee were certaine dayes in the River of Loyre and went also ashoare every night[7]. Then from Callais to Dover, which cannot bee avoyded, no more then the crossinge of Rivers.

And for any thinge I could gather, The distance of places in Turkie is not accompted by miles or leagues, but by whole dayes and halfe dayes Journeys etts.[8]

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[1] The Archbishop at this date was George Abbot, who had succeeded Bancroft in 1611. He was a staunch protestant and a bitter opponent of Laud's doctrine.

[2] An old name for the light boat, since called a gig. See Smyth, *Sailor's Word Book*.

[3] In 1624, Pindar moved to the mansion he had built for himself in Bishopsgate Street Without, where he died, in 1650.

[4] James Wyche. See pp. 14 and 23, and *Appendix* B.

[5] The British Museum copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, ends here, as far as *Relation II.* is concerned.

[6] Spalato. See p. 86. [7] See pp. 120—122.

[8] Compare Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania*, vol. i. p. 39, "The distances in Turkey are very difficult to be ascertained, as they are measured by the time taken by a horse with baggage in going from one place to another."

RELATION III.

Other Voyages, Journies, etts. occurringe[1] *since my arrival from Constantinople untill the tyme of my entertainement for East India, viz.*

March the 20th. 1620[2]. I went downe to my Freinds in the Countrie[3], and the end of that Sommer[4] I made a voyage to Sevill[5], in Spaine, with Pilchards (our Countrey Comoditie)[6] for an Accompt of Mr. Richard Wyche[7], my Uncle, and Father[8].

April 22th. 1622. After my returne from Spaine, I covenanted with the said Mr. Richard Wyche to serve him five yeares, on certaine Conditions.

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[1] See p. 7, where the title of this *Relation*, as given in the "First Table," is practically the same as above. The B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, has "Other Passages occurringe," etc., and, in the "Table" at the beginning of the MS. the B.M. copy has, "Post in Spain and other passages," etc.

[2] *i.e.* 1620/1.

[3] *i.e.* to Penryn in Cornwall. The B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, adds, "and returned to London again the 14th. April 1622."

[4] In the year 1621.

[5] Mundy had already spent two years in Seville (see p. 14). For his allusion to the Giralda in that city, see p. 97.

[6] Compare *Rawl. MS.* C. 799, fol. 106 b, "Barcelona....The Merchandize that is staple, and the quantity that will sell here is Per annum 1000 Butts of Pilchards at about Royalls 50 for every 1000 Pilchards paying charges Royalls 12 per butt."

[7] Richard Wyche was the brother of James Wyche, Mundy's former master. See pp. 14, 23 and 136, and *Appendix* B.

[8] This sentence is omitted in the B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286.

Aprill 15th. 1625. By my said Master and others[1] (undertakers of a Contracte with the Kinge of Spaines Comissioners for a great quantitie of Copper to be delivered in Spaine att a certaine price and att certaine sett Tymes), I was sent post over thither[2] with one Henry Davis[3].

Wee departed London on Satterday night, and lay att Gravesend. Next day to Dover. On Monday wee crossed over to Deepe[4], and the Sonday following wee were att Y'ron in the kingdome of Spaine and Province of Guipiscoa or Biscay[5]; Soe that in Seaven dayes wee went through all Fraunce from Deepe in Picardy or Normandy[6] to Bayon in Gascony; haveing had very good way, good horses, faire weather, and short stages (of about four or five miles att the most). Soe that wee ordinarily exchaunged eighteen, nineteen, twenty horses a day, sometymes twenty-one, twenty-two, a very painfull imployment to one not accustomed for the first two or three dayes. In my opinion, there is better accomodation for post

[1] Among the "others" was probably Job Harby, Richard Wyche's influential brother-in-law. See *Appendix* B.

[2] The B.M. copy omits part of this and the preceding paragraph. In the *Harl. MS.* 2286, the passage runs, "I covenanted with Mr. Richard Wyche to serve him five yeares. Att the end of three, vizt. in Aprill 1625, I was sent post into Spaine with one Henry Davis."

[3] Henry Davis was back in London a few weeks later, for, in *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 148, there is a note of letters delivered by him to the Levant Company on the 11th May, 1625.

[4] Compare the following accounts of Dieppe in 1648 and 1675:—"Deepe....This towne is seated upon the mouth of the river Somme and is over looked by two mountains. The port is safe, but the entrance somewhat incommodious. On the left hand of the haven (as I entered), stands a strong fort which commands the haven. The towne is populous and the streetes very spatious. On the further end of the towne is built a castle which commands the towne." *Rawl. MS.* D. 120, fol. 1. "Thursdaye the 5 of August wee landed at Dipe. It is a good big towne situated upon the British ocean: there is one hansum strite and the towne is verey hansumly paved with good brade stones. I Laye att the signe of Lacrosse or crosiur." *Rawl. MS.* D. 197, fol. 2.

[5] Irun is in the province of Guipuzcoa.

[6] The author is less exact than usual. Dieppe is in Normandy.

rideinge in this Kingdome (and more frequently used) then in any other place. In our way wee came allso to Burdeaux etts.[1]

From Y'ron, wee came to St. Sebastian, a Towne in Biskay, soe to Victoria, a Cittie in Castile[2], where I found Mr. George Wyche, my Masters brother, Prisoner about the Contracte aforesaid[3]. From thence I came to Valledeolid[4] to followe a suite then dependinge in the Chauncery there[5], concerninge the Copper busines aforementioned[6]. This place is accounted one of the delightsomest seats in the Kingdome of Spaine, lyeing in Old Castile. Hither retire divers Lords and Grandes from the Tumults of the

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[1] For Mundy's remarks on this journey across France, his route as traced on the map, and his reasons for not detailing his halting-places, see note 5 on p. 116.

[2] Lithgow, who travelled in Spain in 1620, says (*Painefull Peregrinations*, p. 440), "Biscai a Mountaynous and invincible Countrey, of which Victoria is the chiefe City."

[3] In the B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, these last two paragraphs run as follows:—"Satterdaie night what tyme wee departed London to the 8th day after, being Sondaie, wee crossed the whole kingdome of France from Callais to Bayon, I saie from London to Deepe, and soe to Bayon, and to Yrone the first Towne in Spaine, being ( ) myles, thence to Sansibastians a Sea Towne in Biscay, then to Victoria a Cittie in Castile. Here I found Mr. George Wych prisoner about a Contract for Copper."

[4] Here the author has the following marginal note:—"Valledeolid. In Anno 1605, and the 2nd. of King James [the First of England], Phillip the 3rd. [of Spain] kept his Court heere, where the peace was concluded betweene England and Spaine. And here the same year was Phillip IIII. borne." With regard to these statements, Mundy seems to be in error as to the keeping of the Court and the signing of the treaty at Valladolid in 1605. Philip III. appears to have remained at Madrid during the whole of 1605 and it was there that the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, witnessed the ratification of the treaty between England and Spain, which concluded the war begun during the reign of Elizabeth. Mundy is correct as to Philip IV., whose birth took place at Valladolid on the 8th April, 1605.

[5] The great Chancery or Court of Appeal for the North of Spain was fixed at Valladolid by Juan II. in 1442.

[6] See p. 138. The *Calendar of State Papers* contains no reference to this "Contract" nor have I found any allusion to it in any contemporary MS.

Court to refresh and recreate themselves[1]. Amongst the rest, the once Duke of Lerma, now Cardinall, dyed att my beinge there[2], and was buried in a very faire Church built by himselfe[3]. To this place are all the suites of this Province reduced, where Judges doe sitt twice in the weeke throughout the whole yeare to decide all cawses, as well Civill as Criminall[4]. Heere is a very faire River[5], many pleasant and artificiall fountaines, Groves of Trees, varieties and store of the best fruites, the fairest Place or Placa, that I have yett seene in Spaine[6], built four square with uniformitie, round about upon pillars of Stone (as are

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[1] Valladolid, the Roman Pincia, was called by the Moors, Belad-Waled. The wealth and popularity of the town dated from the beginning of the 15th century when it became the residence of Juan II. Charles V. added much to its beauty; Philip II. was born there (21 May, 1527) and gave it the title of city.

[2] The reign of Philip III. coincided with the rise and fall of this nobleman. Francis of Roxas and of Sandoval, Marquis of Denia, chief equerry to Philip III., was, immediately after the accession of that monarch, created Duke of Lerma and entrusted with the whole administration of the affairs of state. His arrogance and extravagance procured him many enemies, and his unpopularity was further increased by the destruction of a fleet sent by him to attack the English coasts in 1599. In 1604, he concluded a peace with England (see *ante*, note 4 on p. 139), and in 1608 he concluded a truce with Holland. These two acts were so unpopular that his downfall became inevitable. His son, Uzeda, had gradually supplanted him in the king's favour, and, together with Aliaga, Philip III.'s confessor, succeeded in procuring his disgrace. At the age of seventy, he was created cardinal by Pope Paul V., with unusual marks of respect and distinction. In 1618, the disgraced Duke of Lerma was ordered to withdraw from Madrid. He retired to his paternal estates, where he died, as stated by Mundy, in 1625.

[3] This statement is not quite correct. The Duke of Lerma restored and beautified the Dominican Convent of San Pablo, which had been rebuilt, in 1463, by Cardinal Juan Torquemada. The arms of the Cardinal Duke of Lerma are still to be seen on the upper portion of San Pablo, but the statues of the Duke and of his wife, which formerly ornamented their tomb in that church are now in the Museum at Valladolid.

[4] See *ante*, note 5 on p. 139.

[5] The Pisuerga.

[6] The Plaza Mayor, the chief square in Valladolid, was rebuilt on a fixed plan by Philip II. after a fire in 1561. See Coulon, *Le Fidele Conducteur pour le Voyage d'Espagne*, p. 28.

many of the Streets)[1] in which, att feastivall tymes, they baite their bulls with men, run their horses, etts. publique sports and pastimes, which are performed heere with more varietye and better invention then I have seene els where, especially for Bull baiteinge, shewes and daunces on Corpus Christi day[2] etts. And heere I remained about four monethes, and then returned to Sansebastians to take my passage in the Margett, Mr. Robert Moulton[3], for England.

In our way betweene Sansebastians and Victoria lyes el Puerto de Sant Adrian[4], an exceedinge high Mountaine through the Topp of which was the passage[5], being made partly by nature, partly by Art, about half a flights shotte through the mightie rock or mountaine[6] arched over our heads, from which there falls aboundance of water received into Troughes made for the purpose that it might not molest passengers. This they say was auntiently the habitation of St. Adrian, whoe lived heere as an Hermitt. By a certaine passage wee were conducted upp into the said rock, where wee found it full of concavities, holes and Conveyances, some passable and some not. Att length, they brought us to a fountaine naturall, the best

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[1] Here the author has a marginal note, "The Ochavo, being two Streets crossing one another making eight angles on pillars with shopps underneath with a space to passe betweene." To this is added a rough sketch of the form of the Ochavo. The above note is in Mundy's writing and is not found in the B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286. The small Plaza del Ochavo lies to the east of the Plaza Mayor at Valladolid.

[2] *i.e.* on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday.

[3] In *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 110, there are several references to the "Marget" or "Margarett" when she was chartered by the Levant Company in 1626 to go to Aleppo, but I have found no allusion to her commander in the previous year.

[4] The river Oria takes its rise near this mountain.

[5] The B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, has, "through the topp of which lay our waie."

[6] Here the author has a marginal note, "The admirable and strange Passage of el Puerto St. Adrian."

that ever I saw in that kinde, or I thinck can be seene, neere to roundnesse, about a foote deepe, passing Cleare, into which the water trickled downe from the sides and upper vaulted parte, being of hard stone, soe small and Curiously wrought by Nature that it is wonderfull to see, Like those that are to bee seene in Great mens Gardens, where by Art they strive to imitate Nature by placeing arteficiall rocks, pebbles, shells etts., of which sort this would serve for a patterne. From hence the water runns away, and by degrees with other waters falls into the troughes aforesaid[1]. This wee saw by the light of Candells, carrieing with us also fire brands to light them againe if they chaunced to goe out[2].

Also, within two miles of Valledeolid are two ponds of Salt water, wherein by heat of the Sunne in Sommer tyme is much salt made very good and yeildeth great profitt to whom it apperteynes, being it is 100 miles from the Sea[3].

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[1] Compare the following description of the route from San Sebastian over the Mts. of S. Adrian and of the grotto of that saint in *Relation du Voyage d'Espagne* (in 1679), "En sortant de Saint Sebastien, nous entrâmes dans un chemin fort rude, qui aboutit à des Montagnes si affreuses et si escarpées que l'on ne peut les monter qu'en grimpant; on les appelle Sierra de Sant Adrian. Elles ne montrent que des Precipices et des Rochers....Des Pins d'une hauteur extraordinaire couronnent la cime de ces Montagnes....Vers le haut du Mont Saint Adrian, on trouve un Rocher fort élevé, qui semble avoir été mis au milieu du chemin pour en fermer le passage, et separer ainsi la Biscaye de la vieille Castille. Un long et penible travail a percé cette masse de pierre en façon de voûte: on marche quarante ou cinquante pas dessous sans recevoir de jour que par les ouvertures qui sont à chaque entrée; elles sont fermées par de grandes Portes. On trouve sous cette Voûte une Hôtellerie que l'on abandonne l'Hyver à cause des Neiges. On y voit aussi une petite Chapelle de Saint Adrian, et plusieurs Cavernes où d'ordinaire les Voleurs se retirent."

[2] The B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, has, "to light our said Candles, for often tymes the dampe would put them out."

[3] Mundy seems to have verified the number of miles when he revised his MS. in 1649/50. The B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, has "it is about ( ) myles."

Returninge for England with Mr. Molton aforesaid[1], I found my Master[2] very dangerously sick of the Dropsie, whoe presently, about some ocasions, sent mee to Coulchester. (In our way wee passed through Chensford, a prettie hansome Towne[3].) A litle after my comeing back from thence, My Master left this life[4], and I againe left the Cittie[5], went downe to my freinds in Cornewell by Land[6].

Haveinge remained a while att Home, I made a voyage to St. Maloes in Brittaine[7], a place of very great Strength and traffique, there being the most, the fairest and biggest Shipping, that I thinck are in any other port of Fraunce. The Sea is reported heere att high springe to rise from lowe water to high Sea, about thirteen or fourteen fathum[8], whereas on our owne Coast att the same tyme, it doth not flowe above six or seven[9], which seemeth very strange, being they are but thirty-five or forty leagues distant. Also, notwithstandinge the extraordinary strength of the place, being built on a Rock, strongly walled, fortefied and guarded with great vigillancie, there are twenty-four mungrell Doggs[10], whoe every night are sent out of the

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[1] See *ante*, p. 141. [2] *i.e.* Richard Wyche.

[3] The B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, has "passing through Chensford in our waie." It is interesting to note that, as late as the close of the last century, the older inhabitants of Essex still spoke of their county town as "Chensford."

[4] For particulars of Richard Wyche, see *Appendix* B.

[5] *i.e.* of London. [6] Mundy's native town was Penryn.

[7] The B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, has "In the terme of one yeare and halfe I remayned with my Father I made a Voyage into Spaine for accompt of my Uncle and Father, And beinge returned I went to St. Maloes in Brittaine." From this point to the end of the paragraph, the two copies are identical.

[8] Here there is a marginal note in the B.M. copy only, "From lowe water to full Sea, about eleven or twelve fathome."

[9] St Malo is noted for the highest tide in the Channel, but Mundy is a little beyond the mark in his estimate of the height to which it rises, though he is correct as regards the ports on the English side.

[10] Here the author has a marginal note, "Strange Spring tides and as strange a Custome by useing doggs to guard the Citty by night."

Gates with their keeper, and all the night long course to and froe about the walls, killinge and teareinge any liveinge Creature they encounter withall, be it man or beast, haveing att my being there torne one man to peices, and Cattle. Theis in the morninge first enter in att the opening of the gates and last that goe forth att their Closeing in the Eveninge[1].

From thence I went to the Island of Jersey, some twelve leagues distant. It hath thirteen parishes[2], litle waste ground aboundance of Villags, and but one litle Towne called St. [3], plenty of Cider. Naturallie the Inhabitants speake French, although many speake English. It lyeth in our kings dominions[4], although but five leagues from Normandie. From thence I returned to St. Maloes, and soe home[5].

Lastly, desirous of imployment, as also to see forraigne Countries, I came to London againe, where I found entertainement of the honourable Company of English Merchants trading for East India[6], to proceed thither in their next shipps. Soe went downe into the Countrie to take leave of my freinds, and after Christmas 1627, I came

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[1] "On dit que le soir, en fermant les portes de la Ville, on lache douze gros dogues, pour n'etre pas surpris des ennemis; ce que je remarque contre ceux qui disent que S. Malo est gardé par des chiens." *Le Grand Dict. Historique* (1717) *s.v.* Saint-Malo. Compare also Coulon, *Les Rivieres de France*, p. 225, "S. Malo...La ville est importante à cause de son assiette, qui la fait garder comme une Clef de France: on dit qu'elle a des Dogues, qui font la ronde toute la nuict autour de ses murailles avec plus de seureté que des Soldats."

[2] A mistake for twelve. See *Le Grand Dict. Historique*, noted above, also other later descriptions of the Island of Jersey.

[3] St Helier.

[4] The B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, adds, "whoe hath his Governor there."

[5] The wording of this paragraph is somewhat different in the B.M. copy, but the sense is the same.

[6] The B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, has, "Lastly I returned to London, and beinge desirous to see Countries I gott entertaynement of the Honourable Company," etc.

againe for London to attend my honourable Imployers will and pleasure[1].

Computation of Miles and distance of some Places in this Relation.

	Miles
From London to Famouth is	220
From Famouth to Sivell and backe againe is .	2380
From Famouth to London againe	220
From London to Deepe[2]	180
From Deepe to Bayon by land	520
From Bayon to Valledeolid	210
From Valledeolid to St. Sebastians . . .	180
From St. Sebastians to London by Sea . .	780
From London to Coulchester and back . .	110
From London to Famouth	220
From Famouth to St. Maloes[3]	165
From St. Maloes to Jersey and back againe to St. Maloes	70
From St. Maloes to Famouth	165
From Famouth up to London, downe into the Countrey and upp to London againe . .	660
All theis severall Traverses you may finde in the former Relation and amounteth in all to the some of Miles	6080

This Third Relation is also recollected by memorie as is Relation I.

[1] Mundy entered the service of the East India Company as a Junior Factor at the salary of £25 per annum. In the Minutes of the Company (*Court Book*, vol. x. p. 290) under date 22nd Feb. 1627/8, there is the following entry, "The sallary of Peter Mundy enterteyned as an Under Factor being 25li. per annum, it was this day ratified and confirmed and in respect of his necessitie the Court was then also pleased to imprest unto him 5li. of his said wages for his better accomodation and setting out to sea."

[2] The Table of distances in the B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, begins here, but the number of miles traversed is omitted.

[3] The Table of distances in the B.M. copy, *Harl. MS.* 2286, ends here.

APPENDIX A[1].

EXTRACTS[2] FROM BLOUNT'S VOYAGE INTO THE LEVANT, WITH MUNDY'S NOTES ON VARIOUS PASSAGES.

A Voyage into the Levant[3]. *A Briefe Relation of a Journey, lately performed by Master Henry Blunt Gentleman*[4], *from England by the way of Venice, into Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Bosnah, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Rhodes and Egypt, unto Gran Cairo: With particular observations concerning the moderne condition of the Turkes, and other people under that Empire.*

The third Edition[5]. *London, Printed by J. L. for Andrew Crooke, and are to be sold at the signe of the Beare in Pauls Churchyard*, 1638.

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[1] In the *Rawlinson* copy of Mundy's MS. on the reverse of the double-page map of Europe, there are (as stated in note 2 on page 11) several extracts from Blount's *Voyage into the Levant*, signed by Mundy, with a note, "written, Penrin the first February, 1649/50." These extracts are given by Mundy as an *Appendix* to *Relation* I., but, in reality, the remarks on Alexandretta excepted, they refer to the journey from Constantinople to Rovigno, as described in *Relation* II., pp. 41—89. The passages selected are not accurate quotations from Blount, but abstracts made by Mundy, who adds his own comments thereon. For the sake of clearness, Blount's exact words are reproduced here, and Mundy's version of them, together with his own remarks, are added as foot-notes.

[2] The extracts are taken from pages 5—28 of the 3rd edition of Blount's work. The book comprises 126 small octavo pages. The first part contains an account of the author's travels and the second a disquisition on the Turkish government.

[3] Blount left Venice for Constantinople on the 11th May, 1634, and made the journey by sea.

[4] Henry Blount was born in 1602, was knighted by Charles I. in 1640, and died in 1682. See the account of him in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography*.

[5] There were eight editions of the work between 1636 and 1671. There is also a reprint in Osborne's *Collection of Voyages*, 1745, and in Pinkerton's *Collection*, 1808, besides a German edition in 1687, and two Dutch editions, 1707 and 1727.

Rovinio[1], a Venetian City in Istria: it stands in a creeke of the Adriatique, upon a hill promontory which hath two thirds washed by the Sea; the South East side joyned to the Continent, the soyle rocky and baren, as all that side along the Gulfe; it is an hundred miles from Venice, and therefore being so farre within the Gulfe, is not fortified as against much danger, yet hath it a pretty wall and fortresse with a small Garrison: from thence we came to Zara[2]: this Citie stands in Dalmatia, and of all others within the Gulf, is, by reason of the scituation, most apt to command the whole Adriatique, and therefore has formerly beene attempted by the Turke: wherefore the Venetians have fortified it extraordinarily, and now, though in times of firme peace, keepe it with strong companies both of Horse and Foote...after a dayes view of this place, wee Sayled to Spalatro, a City of Sclavonia, kept by the Venetians as their onely Emporium, plyed successively with two Gallies, which cary betweene Venice and that place such merchandize as are transported into Turky, or from thence brought in: it stands in a most pleasant valley on the South side of great mountaines: in the wall toward the Sea appeares a great remainder of a gallery in Dioclesian his Palace: Southward of the towne is the Sea, which makes an open Port capable of ten or twelve Gallyes; without is an unsecure Bay for great Ships, at the entrance above halfe a mile broad, yet not so renowned for the skill of Octavius, who chained it up when hee besieged Salonœ[3], as for the fierce resolution of Vulteius, and his company there taken: in this Towne the Venetians allowe the great Turke to take custome of the Merchandize; whereupon there resides his Emir or Treasurar who payes him thirty five thousand Dollars a yeare[4], as himselfe

[1] Mundy introduces his *Appendix* thus:—"Mr Henry Blunt Gent. in his book intituled a voyage into the Levant performed by him in Anno 1634, printed Anno 1638, the third edition, saith as followeth—Rovignio, a small city in Istria, p. 5, see this booke, fol. 13." After each extract Mundy gives the page in Blount's work, and the fol. in the *Rawlinson MS.* on which there is an allusion to the place in question. For Rovigno, see also *Relation* II., p. 89.

[2] "Wee passed by Zara in Dalmatia" is Mundy's comment on this paragraph. See *Relation* II., p. 88.

[3] Salona was destroyed by the Emperor Augustus Cæsar (Octavius) and rebuilt by Tiberius.

[4] Mundy sums up the description of Spalato thus:—"Spalatro a city of Sclavonia; they pay the Turck 35,000 ducatts per annum." See *Relation* II., pp. 86—88.

and others told me: there are high Walles and strong companies to guard this city; yet I heard their cheife safety to be in having so unusefull and small an Haven, wherefore the Turks esteeme Spalatro in effect but as a land towne, nor so much worth as his present custome, and so covets it not like Zara, for if he did, he has a terrible advantage upon it, having taken from the Venetians Clyssi, not above foure miles off; which is the strongest land fortresse that I ever beheld[1]....Wee passed the Hilles of Dogliana farre higher then the Alpes, and so steepe as our descent for three dayes together it was a greater precipice then that halfe day his [day's] comming downe from Mount Cenis, into Piemont[2]; having for the most part rode thus nine dayes, wee came into a spacious and fruitefull playne, which, at the West, where wee entred, at least tenne miles over, is on the North and South sides immured with ridges of easie and pleasant hilles, still by degrees streightning the plaine, till, after six or seven miles riding, it growes not above a mile broad: there found wee the city Saraih, which extends from the one side to the other, and takes up part of both Ascents; at the East end stands a Castle upon a steepe rocke, commanding the Towne and passage Eastward. This is the Metropolis of the kingdome of Bosnah: it is but meanely built and not great, reckoning about fourescore Mescheetoes and twenty thousand houses[3].

In my three dayes aboade, the most notable things I found was the goodnesse of the water and vaste, almost gyant like stature of the men[4], which, with their bordring upon Germany[5], made mee suppose them to be the offspring of those old Germans, noted by Caesar and Tacitus for their huge size, which, in other places, is now degenerate into the ordinary proportions of men....Thus marcht wee ten dayes through a hilly country, cold, not inhabited, and in a manner a continued wood, most of

[1] Mundy remarks on this—"Keeleesh [*i.e.* Clissa] the stronguest landfort hee had seen." See *Relation* II., p. 85.

[2] "The hills of Dowlanee expressed and magnified above the Alpes" is Mundy's comment on this passage. See also *Relation* II., pp. 83 and 112—114.

[3] Here Mundy gives the following note:—"Sarai, which I otherwise call Bosna-sarai. Sarai in Turkish signifies a pallace or court and Bosna is the province, soe Bosna Sarai is the court or cheife citty of the kingdom or province. It hath eighty mosches, Messets, or Turkish Churches and about 20,000 houses." See also *Relation* II., p. 81 f.

[4] See *Relation* II., p. 81.

[5] The old German Empire extended down the Illyrian coast, as far as Spalato, or nearly so, long before and long after the author's time.

Pine trees[1]: at length wee reached Valliovah[2], a pretty little Towne upon the confines of Hungary...being to passe a Wood neare the Christian country, doubting it to bee (as confines are) full of Thieves, we divided our Caravan of sixescore Horse into two parts...so in three dayes we came safe to Belgrada[3].

This Citie, anciently called Taurunum or Alba Graeca, was the Metropolis of Hungary till wonne by Sultan Solyman the second, in the yeare 1525[4]. it is one of the most pleasant, stately and commodious scituations that I have seene[5]; it stands most in a bottome, encompassed East-ward by gentle and pleasant ascents, employed in Orchards or Vines; South-ward is an easie hill, part possest with buildings, the rest a burying place of well nigh three miles in compasse, so full of graves as one can bee by another: the West End yeilds a right magnificent aspect, by reason of an eminency of land jetting out further then the rest, and bearing a goodly strong Castle, whose walles are two miles about, excellently fortified with a dry ditch and out-workes[6]: this Castle on the West side is washed by the great River Sava, which, on the North of the Citie, loses it selfe in the Danubius, of old called Ister, now Duny[7], and is held the greatest River in the world, deepe and dangerous for Navigation, runnes East-ward into the Euxine or blacke Sea, in its passage receiving fifty and odde Rivers, most of them navigable: two rarities I was told of this River, and, with my owne experience, found true: one was that at mid-day and mid-night the streame runnes slower by much then at other times; this they finde by the noyse of those Boat-milles, whereof there are about twenty, like those upon the Rhoane at Lyons[8]: their clakkers beate much slower at those times then else, which argues like difference in the motion of

[1] See *Relation* II., pp. 78—81, for Mundy's description of this district.

[2] Valjevo: see *Relation* II., p. 78.

[3] Pindar's train also occupied three days in the journey from Belgrade to Valjevo. See *Relation* II., p. 78.

[4] Belgrade capitulated to Sulimān I., the Magnificent, on the 29th Aug. 1521. Five years later, on the 29th Aug. 1526, Sulimān defeated the Hungarians at the battle of Mohacz, and, on the 10th Sept., entered Belgrade.

[5] Belgrade "much commended" is Mundy's comment. See also *Relation* II., pp. 72—75.

[6] See *Relation* II., p. 74.

[7] Duna is the Hungarian name for the river. The Latin names were Danubius for the upper and Ister for the lower course of the stream.

[8] See *Relation* II., pp. 72, 73 and 119.

the wheele, and, by consequence, of the streame; the cause is neither any refluxe nor stop of current by winde or otherwise, for there is no increase of water observed[1]: The other wonder is that, where those two great currents meete, their waters mingle no more then water and oyle; not that either floats above other, but joyne unmixed, so that, neere the middle of the river, I have gone in a Boat and tasted of the Danuby as Cleare and pure as a well, then putting my hand not an inch further, I have taken of the Sava as troubled as a street channell, tasting the gravell in my teeth; yet did it not taste unctious, as I expected, but hath some other secret ground of the antipathy, which though not easily found out is very effectuall; for they run thus three-score miles together and, for a dayes journey, I have been an eye witnesse thereof[2].

The Castle is excellently furnished with Artilery and, at the entrance, there stands an Arsenall with some forty or fifty Brasse peeces, most bearing the Armes and inscription of Ferdinand the Emperour[3]: that which to mee seemed strangest in this castle (for I had free libertie to pry up and downe) was a round

[1] Other travellers, besides Blount, remark on this peculiarity of the current of the Danube at Belgrade. In *Harl. MS.* 6796, p. 33, *Voyage de France à Constantinople*, ? 1583, we have the following account:—"Le Cours du Danube est 700 lieues francois, recoit 60 rivieres navigables, va contre le cours du soleil du couchant au levant...a cecy de remarquable que le vers le milieu de son cours le soleil estant en sa forme un peu devant et apres midy diminue la force de son cours, ce qu'il paroist des moulins qui sont au milieu, de l'eau qui ne meulent pas tant vers midy que le matin ou le soir."

Des Hayes, who travelled to Belgrade in 1621, has a similar story, *Voiage de Levant*, p. 49, "Pendant que nous fusmes sur le Danube, nous observasmes une chose qui est difficile à croire et qui pourtant est vraye et digne de remarque; c'est que cette riviere allant du Couchant au Levant, le Soleil estant en sa force, en arreste le cours: de sorte qu'un peu devant et un peu apres midy elle ne va pas si viste qu'elle fait le soir et le matin quand le Soleil a moins de force: mais l'on ne s'aperçoit point de ce changement que de Bude à Belgrade: ce qui se voit aisément par les moulins qui sont au milieu de l'eau, et qui sont grandement dangereux, lesquels ne meulent pas tant à midy comme le matin et le soir."

[2] Blount is partly correct in his statement. The Danube is yellow and the Save blue, and the two rivers run side by side, distinct in colour, for about three quarters of a mile (*not* sixty miles) beyond their junction, blending just below the fortress at Belgrade.

Mundy sums up Blount's description of the Danube thus:—"The River of Danubius and Savus Runs about 60 miles in one Channell unmingled, Danubius very Clear, Savus extreame muddy; and of Danubius that it should run swifter at Noone and Midnight then at other tymes, observed by the Clackers of their Milles, which then strike oftner and quicker, the reason not knowne." See also *Relation* II., p. 73.

[3] Ferdinand II., Emperor of Germany, 1619—1637. See *Relation* II., p. 75.

Tower, called the Zindana, a crueltie not by them devised, and seldome practised; it is like old Romes Gemoniæ[1]; the Tower is large and round, but within severed into many squares of long beames, set on end about foure foot a sunder; each beame was stuck frequent with great flesh-hookes; the person condemned was naked let fall amongst those hookes, which gave him a quicke or lasting misery, as he chanc'd to light: then, at the bottome, the river is let in by grates, whereby all putrifaction was washt away. Within this great Castle is another little one, with works of its owne. I had like to have miscarried with approaching the entrance, but the rude noise and worse lookes of the Guard gave me a timely apprehension with sudden passage and humiliation to sweeten them, and get off: for, as I after learnt, there is kept great part of the Gran Signior his treasure, to be ready when he warres on that side the Empire; it is death for any Turke or Christian to enter; and the Captaine is never to goe forth without particular licence from the Emperour...we set forward for Sophya[2], which in twelve dayes we reacht...in the way, wee passed by a Palanga, which is a Village fortified with mud walles against Theeves[3]...through all Turky, especially in places desert, there are many Mountaineers or Outlawes, like the wild Irish, who live upon spoyle[4], and are not held members of the State, but enemies, and used accordingly....

In this journey we passed through a pretty little towne, called Nisse[5].

In twelve days wee came to Sophya, the chiefe Citie (after the Turkish division) of Bulgary, but, according to the other Geographie, it stands in Macedonia upon the confines of Thessaly; nor hath it yet lost the old Grecian Civilitie, for of all the Cities I ever passed, either in Christendome or without, I never saw any where a stranger is lesse troubled either with affronts or gaping: it stands almost in the midst of a long and fruitfull valley[6]; on the North-side, about foure miles distant,

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[1] The Gemoniæ were steps cut out of the Aventine, down which the bodies of criminals strangled in the prison were dragged by hooks and afterwards thrown into the Tiber.

[2] See *Relation* II., p. 62.

[3] See *Relation* II., pp. 68, 70 and 71.

[4] See *Relation* II., pp. 55, 61, 62, 66, 69, 71 and 72.

[5] See *Relation* II., p. 69.

[6] See *Relation* II., p. 63.

runnes a ridge of low hils; South-ward, three miles off, stands an high and steepe mountaine, where Snow appeares all the yeare: the Jewes and Christians have here the doores of their houses little above three foote high, which they told mee was that the Turkes might not bring in their Horses, who else would use them for Stables in their travell; which I noted for a signe of greater slavery then in other places.

Here is the Seate of the Beglerbeg or Viceroy of all Greece, by the Turkes called Rumely[1]; with many brave Mescheetoes, especially the great one in the middle of the Towne, and another in the South-side, with a magnificent Colledge: it hath many stately Hanes or Kirevanserahes[2], and exquisite Bathes, the principall hath a hot Fountaine...wee went...in three dayes to Potarzeeke: the passage is famous for Antiquities: sixteene, or eighteene miles East-ward of Sophya, wee past over the Hill Rhodope where Orpheus lamented his Euridice[3]: it hath divers inequalities of ground, none very steepe, all covered with Low Woods, now watched with divers, who by reason of the frequent robberies there committed, doe, by little Drums[4], give the inhabitants warning of all suspicious passengers: in the lowest of these descents runnes a little Brooke, of which I conjectured, and a learned Jew...confirmed, that the old Poets had made the River Strymon, where the disconsolate Orpheus was torne in pieces by the Thracian Dames; for that place hath ever beene uncertainely reckoned to Macedonia, Thrace and Thessaly[5].

At last we came to an high and large mountaine, of a dayes journey over; the Jew held it to bee the Thermopylae[6]; a place

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[1] *i.e.* Roumelia. See *Relation* II., p. 62 f.

[2] *Khāns* or Caravanserais. See *Relation* II., pp. 52—54.

[3] See *Relation* II., note 9 on p. 61.

[4] Compare the account in *Relation* II., p. 61 f.

[5] Mundy abstracts this passage and adds his own note as follows:— "About twenty miles beyond Sophia towards Phillippopolis are certaine hills which hee was informed by an ancient Jew to bee Rodope where Orpheus Lamented his Euridice, and in one of the Vallies, the River Strimon, where Orpheus was torne in peeces by the Thracian dames. The place hath ever bin uncertainely reckoned to Macedonia, Thrace and Thessaly, about four miles this side Cappeekeeoy [Kapuli]. The story happened Anno Mundy, 2700, and 1244 years before Christ." See also *Relation* II., p. 61, note 9.

[6] On Thermopylae Mundy notes, "Thermopylae is thought to bee at Cappee Keeoy (Cappee in Turkish is a gate or porte), where it is thought Leonidas, king of Sparta, with 400 souldiers kept the passage against Xerxes with 1000,000 men; read the story here, p. 19 [of Blount's *Voyage*], Anno Mundi 3470, before Christ, 474." By "Cappee Keeoy" Mundy means Kapuli. See *Relation* II., p. 61.

as stoutly contested for of old as now the Valtoline[1] with us; herewith hee told mee that Easterne custome of wearing Turbants came from thence, and that how once the Barbarous people having the Grecian Army at a great advantage, there was no other remedy, but that some few should make good that narrow passage, while the maine of the Army might escape away, there were brave Spirits who undertooke it; and knowing they went to an unevitable death, they had care of nothing but Sepulture, which of old was much regarded; wherefore, each of them carried his winding sheete wrapt about his head, and then with losse of their owne lives saved their fellowes: whereupon, for an Honourable memoriall of that exploit, the Levantines used to wrap white linnen about their heads, and the fashion so derived upon the Turke.

This may be the Story of Leonidas with his three hundred Spartanes, but corrupted by time and tradition:...and this might well bee the Thermopylae[2], if they were so neare the Phylippick Fields; for, besides his confession, the tradition of divers there inhabiting and all concordance of Stories assure us that the Champagne[3] betweene this Mountaine and Philippopolis, of above fortie or fifty miles long, was, from that Citie built by Philip, called Campi Philippici, famous for the Roman civill warres there decided in two Battels: the first betweene Cæsar and Pompey; The other betweene Augustus and Marke Antony, against Brutus and Cassius: the Plaine, but that it is a Valley, much resembles our Downes of Marleborough, where the Saxons, as it is thought, had a great Battell: for, just in that manner, there yet remaine the heapes where the Slaine were buried, and good part of the Trenches: the two Battels were fought sixteene

[1] Compare *A Journall of a Voyage thro' France and Italy* (in 1658), *Sloane MS.* 2142, "April 28...wee rid some 30 miles this day, most of it being very bad and difficult way to passe being constrained to walk a foote 14 mile downe a Mountaine and soe wee entered into the Country of the Valtolines which are a People that have four or five little Townes in their possession but among the Mountaines, All Catholickes and under the power of the Grisons.... April 30...we lay at the foote of a greate Mountaine that seperates the Country of the Valtolines from that of the Grisons." The Valtellina is a district in N. Italy near the Rhætian Alps. It was seized by the Grison League in 1512 and ceded to it in 1530. At the instigation of Spain, the Catholics rose and murdered the Protestants, July, 1620. After much contention between the French and Austrians, the neutrality of the Valtellina was assured in 1639.

[2] See *Relation* II., p. 61, note 6.

[3] For Mundy's remark on "Champion Countrie," see *Relation* II., p. 60.

or eighteene miles asunder, as appeares by the Sepulchers and the Trenches; Cæsars was next the Hill; the other neerer Philippopolis...in Cæsars Battell there dyed but fifteene thousand two hundred, in the other almost twice as many; this proportion is made good in the heapes, those towards Philippopoli being greater and much more in number then the other: then Cæsar writes that after Pompey and the maine of his Army was fled, a residue not yet disperst retired to a hill sixe miles of, which had a River runne under it. This squares right with a hill on the South-side of Potarzeeke, a little Towne betweene the two Camps....This Potarzeeke had it not beene remarkable for the place, was not worth mention; for it is but a small Towne reckoning not above foure thousand houses but is very pleasant with hills, and a River South-ward.

Hence we passed East-ward through the rest of the Plaine, along the Monuments of Brutus and Cassius his defeature; the Tumuli are many, some great, some small, more or lesse close together, as the slaughter hapned, and reach at least eight or nine miles in length, extending as it seemes the flight did, towards Philippopolis[1], now in Turkish called Philibee where in two dayes we arrived.

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[1] Mundy comments at length on this passage under the heads of "Phillipick feilds" and "Burialls":—

"Campi Phillipici or the Phillipick feilds is thought to bee the plaine country betweene Phillippopolis and the Hills, six miles beyond Yelkeeoy [see *Relation* II., p. 60 f.], famous for the Romaine Civill Warre decided here in twoe battles, viz., betweene Ceasar and Pompey, allso betweene Augustus and Marck Antonio against Brutus and Cassius, Ceasers Near the Hills, the other Near Phillippopolis. Allso in Sir Walter Rawleighes History of the World, lib. 4. p. 229, saith, Eumenes burned the bodies of his owne Men and interred the bones and ashes of his captaines and common Souldiers apart, Raysing upp heapes of earth as mountaines over them: and soe went his way. [The passage quoted occurs on p. 192 of Book iv. in the 1614, 1631 and 1634 editions of Ralegh's work.]

The battle betweene Antigonus and Eumenes was as farre as I can gather Near this place and perhappes the same buriall places, Eumenes beeing overthrowne through the treachrey of his owne; Sir Walter Rawleigh Lib. 4. p. 250 [pp. 208—211 in the editions mentioned above]; hee was finally betrayed, taken, bound and delivered (by Teutamos and the silver Sheelds) unto Antigonus who putt him to death. To this end came the traveiles of that Worthy generall Eumenes, who had with great Wisedom, Valour, fidelity and patience endeavoured in vaine to upphold the family which God had determined to cast downe; hee is reckned among the Notable examples of fortunes Mutability. Read More at large lib. 4 p. 250 [p. 210 in the editions of Ralegh's *History of the World* noted above].

This hapned a little after the death of Alexander, Anno 3612, by some computations, of which there be divers. The buriall places Mr. Blunt saw; but of those buriall places or Mountaines off earth I can say No More then

A little before the Citie[1], on the North-side, wee saw the Gran Signior his Stable of Camels, where is place and order for five thousand Camels, which carry his provisions when hee Warres on this side his Empire; and then the generall Rendivouz uses to bee in these Philippick Fields[2], now termed the Plaine of Potarzeeke, through which also runnes the River Marissa, in some places called Hebrus, shallow but very broad; over this River at the North entry of Phylibee, is a vaste woodden Bridge[3], more then a quarter of a mile long; Through the middest of this Citie, from North to South, runnes a ridge of rocky hilles, partly taken up with buildings; the rest with Sepultures, among which I found a little Greeke Chappell, built in the old Gentilisme[4], as a Greeke told me, and it appeares also by the round forme, with equall division of Altars; there remaines nothing remarkable: After five dayes stay, we went foure dayes journey through many pretty Townes of Thrace[5], till we came to the Chiefe Citie thereof, and one of the principall in all Turky: This is Andrinople[6], in Turkish Heidrianee, of Hadrian, who repaired it: originally it was styled Orestæ from its Founder; for as the Greekes there pretend, it was built by Orestes[7] Sonne to Agamemnon: Untill the conquest of Constantinople, it was the Turkes Emperiall Seate: North-East,

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that I can well remember, and I thinck it was hereabouts, that wee came to a spacious even plaine [see p. 61 f.] and that here were here and there divers little hills fashioned like heypokes, but very large and high, by computation 70 or 80 feete, and soe much diameter in the bottom, which appeared in the plaine as Ilands in the Sea, and seemed not otherwise by their proportions but to bee made by Mens hands.

In Sir W. Rawleigh, lib. 3, p. 63 [p. 52 of the editions noted above], you shall find the fight at Thermypolae or Thermapylae set downe punctually that the straights was betweene Thessaly and Greece, half acre of ground space." See also *Relation* II., p. 61, note 6.

[1] *i.e.* Philippopolis. See *Relation* II., p. 54.

[2] See *Relation* II., p. 54, note 9. [3] See *Relation* II., p. 54.

[4] *i.e.* in the style of gentilism, or like a pagan temple.

[5] See *Relation* II., pp. 52—54. [6] See *Relation* II., p. 49.

[7] On Orestes Mundy notes, "See in H. okes [Holyoke's] Dictionary the name Orestes, the story of him and Pylades, with other accidents, floreat Anno Mundi 2188, after the destruction of Troy twenty yeares, before Christ 1160 yeares." The Dictionary referred to is the "Dictionarium Etymologicum Latinum....Declaring the Originall and Derivation of all Words used in any Latine Authors....Whereunto...are added many thousand other words...with their Greeke in more exactnesse than ever was in Calepine, Morelius, or any other....Hereunto is also annexed the Proper Names adorned with their Etymologies....Lastly Rider's Dictionarie...augmented with many hundreds of words...newly corrected, and very much augmented by the great industrie and paines of Francis Holy-oke, 1633." The full title occupies an entire page.

North and North-West lye certaine low and easie hilles, amongst which glides the little River Tuny[1], from the North-side of the Citie to the West, where, meeting a branch of the Marissa, it passes a mile or more South-East, where, Joyning with the other branch, it runs stately through the adjoyning Plaine, on which Zerxes first Mustered his vaste Army when he had passed the Helespont.

This City, among divers other names, hath beene called Trimontium because it stands upon three little hilles, or rather one low Hill, with three eminencies, the middest is the highest and largest, upon the toppe whereof, as the crowne and glory of the other buildings, stands a stately Mescheeto built by Sultan Solyman the Second, with foure high and curious Spyres, at each corner one, as the manner of Turky is[2];...A little without the Citie North-ward stands the Gran Signior his Serraglio, with a Parke walled, some three miles compasse[3]:...

After ten dayes stay at Adrinople, we rode up and downe... to Burgaz, Churlo[4] and divers other pretty Townes, all of them adorned with daintie Meskeetoes, Colledges, Hospitals, Hanes, and Bridges...we came to Selibree, of old Selymbria[5], no great Towne, but bigger then the rest and very ancient; the old Castle and walles not quite demolished; It stands upon the south end of a long but low hill; the other three points are encompassed by Sea, with a rocky and unsafe Port; from whence, on the other side of the Bay, you may discerne a round Hill upon which remaine more ruines of the old Citie Heraclea[6]....Next after I had kissed the hands of the right Honourable, Sir Peter Weych, Lord Embassadour for his Majesty of England[7], I tooke an instant opportunitie of passage for Egypt....Some thirtie miles

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[1] *i.e.* the Tondja. Mundy mentions the river. See *Relation* II., p. 49.

[2] Here follows a detailed description by Blount of this "Meskeeto," the fountain near it, the "Besisteins or Exchanges," bridges, walls, etc.

[3] See *Relation* II., p. 49 f.

[4] For Lule-Burgas and Chorlu, see *Relation* II., p. 48.

[5] See *Relation* II., p. 47.

[6] Here follows Blount's description of Constantinople, its position, chief buildings, etc.

[7] Here Mundy remarks, "Sir Peter Wyche, Embassador at Constantinople, brother unto my late master Mr. Richard Wyche, with whome I might have gon thither againe, but took another course. I knew nine brethren in forraigne and farre distant Regions." This last remark seems to refer to the Wyche family. See *Appendix* B. for Mundy's connection with three of the brothers Wyche.

beneath Gallippoly is the streightest passage of the Hellespont[1] not above halfe a mile broad; a place formerly famous for Zerxes his Bridge, but much more glorious in the loves of Hero and Leander; These Castles called the Dardanelli, command the passage, and are the securitie of Constantinople on that side: That upon Europe, anciently Sestos, is made with two Towers, one within the other; the inmost highest, by reason of the rising ground upon which they stand, each bearing the forme of three Semi circles with the outwall Triangular: The other upon the Asian Shoare, is farre stronger, standing on a Marish levell; it is of forme square with foure round Turrets, at each corner one; in the middle before stands an high square Tower commanding over all: This formerly was named Abydos, not that the buildings remaine the same, but often reedified in the same place[2]...wee reached Cape Janizar, anciently Promontorium Sigaeum, where Troy[3] stood, of which nothing remaines to bee seene, but a peece of an old wall....[4]

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[1] See *Relation* I., p. 20.

[2] Mundy's note on this passage is as follows:—"The two Castles below Constantinople called the Dardanelli, betweene which wee sailed before wee came to the Citey, not mentioned in this booke [*i.e.* Mundy's MS.], anciently Sestos and Abidos, Sestos on Europe side and Abidos on the Asian shore, Mr. H. B. p. 27. Here it is said that Xerxes made a bridge of boates over the Hellespont to passe into Europe."

[3] See p. 20. Mr Edwin Pears has kindly furnished me with the following note on the Troy of the early travellers:—The sites on the West of the bay, now called Koum Kalé, and South of the river Simois where there exist several mounds known as the tombs of Achilles, of Patrocles, etc. were probably regarded as those of Troy. Hissarlik, first recognized as Troy by Mr Calvert and since explored by Schlieman and Dorpfeldt is on the opposite, that is on the North side of the river Simois. The first were long regarded as the site of the renowned city. Critobulus (Book ii.) mentions a visit to them, in 1483, by Mahomet II., who regretted that he had no poet like Homer to celebrate his victories.

[4] Mundy further comments on Blount's description of Samos (p. 29), four-legged serpents (p. 45), the "tombes within the great Piramides" (pp. 45—48) and "Gran Cayro" (p. 38). He concludes these additions with the following note, "Though some of these concern not this booke, yet I have made this small digression for the strangeness of the matters mentioned and not to be doubted of, that you might not wonder too much at smaller matters in my owne." However, as these remarks throw no light on this volume of the author's European *Travels*, they have been omitted.

APPENDIX B.

THE WYCHE FAMILY[1].

This family, with whom Mundy was intimately connected for nearly ten years[2], was originally settled in Worcestershire and Cheshire. Peck[3] derives the name from Wiccia, a province in Mercia. He says that "the salt-pits of Worcestershire and Cheshire were by the old English called Wiches," and that "in both counties were many considerable persons of the name of Wyche."

The salt-pits and their surroundings provided a good training for mercantile abilities, and early in the fifteenth century, if not before, the adventurous spirits of the Wyche family had found their way to the capital, where they quickly identified themselves with the life and trade of the city. In 1461, Sir Hugh Wyche, mercer, son of Richard Wyche, was Lord Mayor of London. He died in 1466 and was buried in St Margaret's Church, Lothbury. His will[4], which is very long, is almost entirely made up of bequests to churches, nuns, monks, etc., and to many and various persons to pray for the repose of his soul. Sir Hugh was claimed as a direct ancestor by the merchant brothers whom Peter Mundy served, and whose father was Richard Wyche, a notable member of the trading companies of the time. This Richard, son of Richard Wyche of Davenham, Cheshire, was born in 1554. He married, in 1581, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Saltingstall, knight, Lord Mayor of London, by whom he had eighteen children, twelve sons and six daughters.

Richard Wyche, his brother Jacob and his nephew Thomas were all members of the Skinners' Company, Richard becoming a

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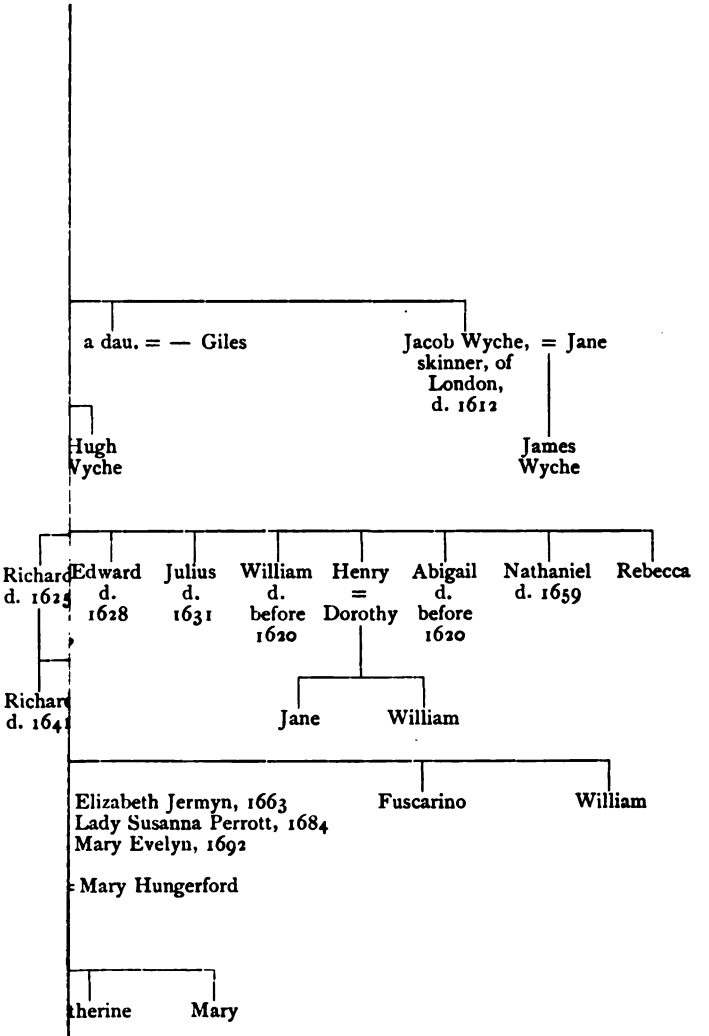
[1] The name is variously spelt Wyche, Wych, Wich, Witch, etc.

[2] See pp. 10, 14, 23, 45, 136—139, 143 and 156.

[3] See *Add. MS.* 24121, fol. 353.

[4] The will is to be found at Somerset House, catalogued as 23 *Godyn.*



of the *Harleian Society*, from *Harl. MS.* 2040, fol. 267 and
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"Master" in 1614[1]. He was connected with the East India Company from its earliest days, being an "Adventurer" for £209 in 1599. He also held a prominent post in the Levant or Turkey Company and had sufficient interest to find employment in the Mediterranean Sea and its coasts for three, at least, of his sons, of whom Thomas was "admitted to fellowship of the Levant Company" by patrimony in 1615. In January, 1616, Richard Wyche is mentioned in the *Court Book* of the Company as desiring a "share in stint of currans[2]." In December, 1619, he petitioned for an allowance as "treasurer for the pirate business," and in February, 1620, the year before his death, he was chosen "Assistant." He was, besides, a member of the Muscovy Company, which he assisted both with his money and his family. In 1619, Sir John Menick testified to the "fair carriage of Mr. Wiech's son in Muscovy[3]." Richard Wyche had eight sons then living, and to one of these the remark undoubtedly refers.

This noted merchant, "citizen and Skynner of London," died in 1621 and was buried in the Church of St Dunstan's in the East. To his memory was erected "A faire Monument in the North Ile of the Chancell with the inscription:—Heere lieth the body of Richard Wyche, Merchant and Citizen of London, free of the Company of Skinners, amongst whom having borne all Offices, his life and carriage was exemplary. Hee married Elizabeth, the Daughter of Sir William Saltingstall, Knight, sometimes Alderman and Maior of this Honourable City of London, by whom he had issue, 12 Sonnes and 6 Daughters, *viz.* Richard, Thomas, Susan, Daniel, George, Samuel, Peter, Elizabeth, James, Mary, Anne, Edward, Julius, William, Henry, Abigaile, Nathaniell, Rebecca. Sonnes, 4 deceased, 8 living. Daughters, 2 deceased, 4 living. Hee yeelded his soule in peace to his Maker the 20. of November, after 67 yeeres pilgrimage here amongst men, whose latter yeeres were bestowed in expectation of his end, exprest in setling of his estate here on earth, and in preparation of his soule for Heaven, where it now remaines in peace and happiness[4]."

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[1] See Wadmore, *Some Account of the Skinners' Company*, p. 192. By his will, in 1618, Thomas Wyche bequeathed to the Skinners' Company the sum of twenty pounds for the purchase of two cups for their Hall.

[2] *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 148.

[3] *Court Minutes of the East India Company.*

[4] Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. 1633, p. 833.

The will and inventory of Richard Wyche[1] are still extant. By the former, dated 18th September, 1620, proved 6th February, 1622, he bequeathed one-third of his property to his wife Elizabeth, one-third to his children Susanna, Anne, Rebecca, Henry and Nathaniel, and the remaining third in legacies to his daughter Susanna, eldest son Richard, son-in-law Job Harby, cousin Clement Harby and nephew William Wyche, with additions to his wife and three daughters. He stated that his sons Richard, Thomas, George, Peter, Edward and Julius and his daughter Elizabeth, though left out of his will[2], were "all as dear and loving" as the rest of his offspring, but that they had already been helped to the utmost of his power.

Of the eighteen children of Richard Wyche, the six who predeceased him were, Daniel, Samuel, James, Mary, William and Abigail. Of these, the only one of interest is James, the ninth child and seventh son. In 1617, he was sent by the Levant Company to Constantinople on the *Royall Merchant*. He was accompanied by Peter Mundy who had newly entered his service. In the following year, 1618, James Wyche died of small-pox at Constantinople[3]. He appears to have left no will, nor does Mundy give any information about his master's private affairs. The James Wyche who was a Director of the East India Company from 1650 to 1655[4] may possibly have been a son of Mundy's employer, but there is no proof of the relationship.

The entries in the document entitled "Inventory of the Estate of Richard Wyche after his decease[5]" give some idea of the investments undertaken by the senior member of the family. The following are extracted from the MS.:—"The Inventory...of all...the goods which late belonged unto Richard Wyche late Citizen and Skynner of London deceased and whilst he lived of the parish of St. Dunstans in the East London seene and valued the 4th day of December Anno Domini 1621....Doubtfull Debts oweing to the Testator at his decease: Item oweing by a Voyage to Aleppo 748: 17: 08: by a Voyage to Constantinople 406: 10: 00:

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[1] The will is at Somerset House and the inventory at the Bodleian Library.

[2] Richard, however, had a legacy of £50 as executor.

[3] See pp. 10, 14, 23 and 136.

[4] *Court Minutes of the East India Company.*

[5] *Rawl. MS.* A. 414, at the Bodleian Library.

by a Voyage to Xio [Scio] and Smyrna 357: 05: 00: by a Voyage to the East Indies in the first Joynt Stock 566: 13: 04: Item underwritten in the second Joynt Stock 2400: whereof 600 was for his Sonne Thomas Wyche and 200 for his Sonne George soe rest for his own accompt 1600: Whereof payd in for his owne accompt 1150 in his lifetyme and what the proceede thereof will be is uncertaine: Item by the third Joynt Stock of Currants 24: 09: 08: by the fourth Joynt Stock of Currants 338: 10: 00 by a Voyage into Russia for a Principall part in thereof 900: 00: 00...." In 1623, Job Harby and Richard Wyche, executors to the will of Richard Wyche, senior, petitioned the Council that they might not be personally liable for a tax rated on the testator as a member of the Muscovy Company, "having already distributed his property according to the will[1]."

Elizabeth Wyche survived her husband six years. She died in the parish of St Dunstan's in 1628, leaving ten children. By her will, dated 18th October, 1625, proved 3rd March, 1628, she bequeathed £100 each to her seven sons[2] and £200 each to her four daughters. She also provided in the following terms for her orphan grandchildren:—"Fiftie Pounds to Richard Wyche the eldest son of son Richard the yearely use thereof I would have my Executors...to alowe toward his skoolinge and the said fiftie pounds to bee given with him to a master when he shalbe put forth to bee an aprentice And if he should die then my will is that the second sonne Thomas Wyche shall have the said fiftie pounds, and if he dye then to Elizabeth Wyche their sister and if she should die then to Abigail Wyche and if shee should die to Jeane Wyche."

Of the numerous family of Richard Wyche, senior, several held important positions both in commerce and society. Richard, the eldest of the eighteen children, was a member of the Levant Company. He lived in "Minceinge lane" and Mundy "lay att his howse" on his return from Constantinople in September, 1620[3]. In 1625, he and others entered into a contract with the "King of Spain's Commissioners," as Mundy relates, for copper to be delivered in Spain. Trouble arose over this business and

[1] See *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1623, p. 140.

[2] One of the sons, Edward, died between the making of the will and his mother's decease.

[3] See p. 136.

Mundy, who had already agreed, in 1622, to serve Richard Wyche for "five years on certaine Conditions," was sent to Valladolid "to followe a suite then depending in the Chauncery there." On his arrival, Mundy found George Wyche, his "master's brother, Prisoner about the contract aforesaid[1]." Mundy does not state if his mission was successful, but, in any case, he failed to secure the liberation of George Wyche, who was still in Spain without "release from his troubles" in 1628. On Mundy's return to England, he found Richard Wyche "very dangerously sick of the Dropsie," and shortly after, in the autumn of 1625, his "Master left this life[2]." The five children of Richard Wyche were, as stated above, mentioned in their grandmother's will. In 1631, they also received legacies under the will of their uncle, Julius Wyche. Richard, the eldest child, whose education and apprenticeship had been provided for by his grandmother, eventually entered the service of the East India Company and held a post in their Factory at Bantam in 1642 and 1643.

Thomas Wyche, second son of Richard Wyche, senior, is perhaps the Thomas mentioned in the will of his uncle Jacob Wyche[3], who died in 1612, but as there was at this time another Thomas Wyche, son of Thomas Wyche of Alderley and also nephew to Jacob, it is doubtful which of the two is meant. Of Thomas, son of Richard, there is little to relate. He became a member of the Levant Company in 1615. He outlived his father and is mentioned in his mother's will. He was probably one of the "nine brethren" whom Mundy mentions as being "in forraigne and farre distant Regions[4]," but no record is forthcoming of his life abroad or of his death.

Susanna, third child and eldest daughter of Richard Wyche, is mentioned by both her parents in their wills. She was unmarried in 1625.

George, third son of Richard Wyche, senior, was mixed up in his brother Richard's copper contract and was imprisoned on that account, as previously related[5]. By the will of his brother Julius, dated 1628, proved 1631, George Wyche was to have a legacy of £300 if "he returne from Spayne or otherwise

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[1] See pp. 137—139.
[2] See p. 143.
[3] Wills at Somerset House, 12 *Fenner*.
[4] See p. 156, note 7.
[5] See p. 139.

lyvinge there, to bee allwaies paid as he shall enorder it, either for his maintenance in those partes or help to release him from his troubles duringe life in his disposinge." There is no further record of the captive nor any hint as to whether he ever obtained his freedom.

Peter Wyche, the sixth son, is the most prominent member of this large family. In 1625, instructions were issued by Charles I. to "Peter Wich Esquire emploied by us as our Agent resident with our deere Brother the King of Spain." The envoy was to deliver a Letter of Credit to the King of Spain on the death of the late King of England, James I. He was also instructed to "promote peace and commerce" during his residence in Spain[1]. On his return from this mission, in 1626, Peter Wyche was knighted. The following year he succeeded Sir Thomas Roe as Ambassador to the Porte, a post he held with great distinction until 1639. He married Jane Meredith and had two sons, who also distinguished themselves and who were both created knights. Mundy had the offer of service under the ambassador when he went to Constantinople in 1627, but "took another course[2]." In his will Sir Peter styles himself as "Sir Peter Witch Knight and Controwler of his Majesties howshowld[3]." His great-grandson, Sir Cyril Wyche, was created a Baronet[4].

Elizabeth Wyche, eighth child and second daughter of Richard Wyche, senior, married Job Harby, a London merchant. The Harbys and the Wyches were connected by blood as well as by marriage. Clement Harby was cousin to Elizabeth's father and was appointed by him as one of the "overseers" to his will, to which Job Harby, son-in-law, was one of the executors. Mrs Job Harby made a good match from a worldly point of view and eventually became Lady Harby. She outlived her husband, Sir Job, and died on the 7th November, 1673. By her will[5] "the Lady Harby" desired to be buried at "St. Dunstans in the East in

[1] See *State Papers, Foreign Archives, Spain*, vol. 33.

[2] See p. 156, note 7.

[3] The will is at Somerset House.

[4] For a further account of Sir Peter Wyche and his family, see the article in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

[5] See *Rawl. MS.* A. 414 (in the Bodleian Library), entitled *Sir Erasmus Harby's Manuscript*, vol. 2nd.

the Vallt of my fathers owne purchasing." She described herself as the "Widdow of Sir Job Harby Knight Barronett deceased, being somewhat antient but of reasonable health of body." In spite of being "antient" she lived for more than four years after making her will. She bequeathed £10 to her nephew Sir Peter Wyche, the son of her brother the ambassador. No other members of her family are mentioned except "sister Wyche" who had forty shillings and Henry Wyche (probably her brother) who witnessed the will. Erasmus Harby, Elizabeth's son, succeeded to the title.

Of Anne, the eleventh child and fourth daughter of Richard Wyche, senior, there is no record except that she married a Mr Charleton.

Edward, the twelfth child and eighth son also served "in forraigne and farre distant Regions." He was at Constantinople in 1620 and is mentioned by Mundy as one of the seven merchants who accompanied Sir Paul Pindar as far as "Ponto Grande[1]." He must have been in England in 1625, when he was admitted to the freedom of the East India and Levant Companies[2], but he appears to have returned to the East before 1627, for he was again at Constantinople when his brother Sir Peter arrived there in the capacity of ambassador. In 1628, Edward went to Scio to meet Lady Wyche, who had come out to join her husband. On the way back to Constantinople, he contracted the plague, and died and was buried at Vrekli[3].

Of Julius, ninth son and thirteenth child of Richard Wyche, senior, there is no record but his will. On his death, in 1631, he bequeathed money to his brothers George, Henry and Edward[4], to his sister Rebecca, to his brother-in-law Job Harby and to the children and widow of his eldest brother Richard.

Henry, the eleventh son, married Dorothy ..... and had two children, Jane and William.

Nathaniel, the seventeenth child and youngest son of Richard Wyche, was closely connected with the East India Company.

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[1] See p. 45 f.

[2] *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 148, p. 124.

[3] *Early Voyages in the Levant* (Covel's Diary), p. 277.

[4] Edward, however, pre-deceased Julius. For the will of Julius Wyche, at Somerset House, see 124 *St John*.

He was a member of the Board of Directors for several years, and, in 1658, he was appointed President of Surat. His tenure of office was short, as he died at Surat on the 23rd of May, 1659, within eight months of his arrival in India[1].

Rebecca, the eighteenth child and sixth daughter, was unmarried at the time of her mother's death.

Mundy's remark as to the travels of the Wyche family "in forraigne and farre distant Regions" is correct in so far as six of them are concerned. One (probably Thomas) was in Muscovy about 1620; George was in Spain in 1625; Peter and Edward were both in Constantinople in 1627; James died there in 1618; and Nathaniel was in Surat in 1659. Of the journeyings of Richard, Julius and Henry, unfortunately no record is forthcoming.

Of the later members of the Wyche family, Bernard, grandson of the ambassador to Constantinople, entered the East India Company's service and was a merchant at Surat. His brothers Peter and George were also merchants at Cambrai and Pondicherry respectively. With the death of Sir Cyril Wyche, Baronet, in 1756 and the extinction of the title, the family seems to have come to an end.

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[1] *Factory Records, Surat*, vol. 2.

APPENDIX C.

THE *ROYAL MERCHANT* AND CAPTAIN JOSHUA DOWNING[1].

The Royal Merchant.

The *Royal Merchant* was offered to the Levant Company for purposes of trade by one of its members, Mr Morris Abbott[2], in August, 1616. The proceedings in connection with this ship are preserved in the *Court Book* of the Levant Company[3] (now in the Public Record Office), and are here reproduced.

2 *August* 1616. "Whereas by former Act of Court it is provided that no shipping shalbe licensed to go forth without speciall leave of the Company, as in the said Act is more at large expressed, Forasmuch as Mr. Morris Abbott offered his shipp called the *Royall Merchant*, which was now bound out for Ligorne and other places of the Straights, that if the Company please they might send goods in her in that voyage, according to their severall occasions, this Court entertained the motion, and ordered as followeth, First that shee shall touch at Ligorne and there to stay twenty dayes, from thence to Zant and there to stay three dayes. From Zant to Scanderone and there to stay fifteen dayes and if neede require to stay there thirty dayes. To unlade from thence to Cio and there to stay five dayes. From Cio to Constantinople and there to stay twenty dayes. From Constantinople back to Cio, and there to stay three dayes. From Cio to Scanderone and there to stay fifty dayes to take her lading for England. To paie fraight for mony one Chequeen uppon 1000 Dr[4]. To paie freight for Ligorne and Constantinople

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[1] See p. 14.

[2] See note 1 on p. 15.

[3] *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 147, pp. 168, 174 and 179.

[4] The sign is indistinct. It is apparently Dr and possibly stands for Dollars.

for a bagg of pepper four Dr. To paie fraight out and home, for so much as shalbe landed and laden at Scanderone, 11li. 10s. per ton. The Shipp to carry fifty three men a maister and a boy. They that have no fraight per charter partie are to paie fraight homeward from Constantinople, Cio or Scanderone 6li. 10s. per Ton. The same price shalbe paid by them that have taken tonnage and laid more then their Tonnedge taken from any of the said Portes, vizt. 6li. 10s. per ton. The shipp to carry such bales as shalbe laden from Constantinople by the laders to Scanderone gratis. The owners to Contract that no wollen comoditie be carryed for Constantinople, Scio, or any parte of the arches[1] in their shipp either directlie or indirectlie. According to such agreement a Charter Partie is to be made betwixt the owners and laders for the performance thereof. Uppon which Conditions, this shipp hath been graunted to proceed on the said voyage according to a former Act made for the restraint of Shipps without leave, which Act is yett to continue in force till the Company see cause to the contrary. And therefore every one willing to lade in this shipp are to sett downe in writing at Mr. Abbotts house under their handes what Tonnage they are desirous to take in this Shipp."

11 *September* 1616. "A draught of the Charter Partie of the *Marchant Royall* was read at this Court and Assented unto, And it is ordered that a bond be sealed from Mr. Morris Abbott and the Master of that Shipp, Josuah Downing, to Sir Thomas Low[2] to the use of the Company, penalty £500, that no Cloth or Kersyes exceeding the number of Ten peeces be carried in that shipp for Constantinople, either directlie or indirectlie, according to the owners promise made to the Company in that behalf."

18 *December* 1616. "Ordered... that whereas the Shipp *Royall Merchannt* was by Charter party bound to go her voyage, as high as Constantinople, forasmuch as sithence her departure hence advertisment is come by letters that there is like to be some troubles, hazard and danger in such a course, It was thought fitt that she shall go no further then Scio, and there to

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[1] *i.e.* The Archipelago.

[2] The father of the Mr Francis Lowe mentioned by Mundy on p. 45.

stay forty dayes in lieu of the Time shee was to spend at [1] and Constantinople, and in going and coming betwixt those places, to lade and unlade there such goods and monyes as shee is bound to do by the said Charter partie. And further that at Scio every Particular lader shall take care for the disposing of the goods and monyes at his owne charge. To which purpose it is thought fitt and ordered that letters be written by the husband, to be sent away by the next Post, intimating so much to the Ambassador and nation there, if they find it convenient the shipp should be staid at Cio for the reasons abovesaid."

25 *June* 1617. "And because the times are dangerous for shipping, in respect of the men of warre, and that the *Merchant Royall* is not for any thing yett knowne accompanied with other shipps, shee being a shipp of great vallue, It is ordered, by the consent of the fraighters and owners of that shipp, that if shee shall putt into Zant and stay there above sixe dayes for the two good English Shipps, at least at the discretion of the principal factors at Zant for the joynt Stock of Currants, who shall appoint her to depart from thence in Company of the said shipps for England as they shall see cause, that then towardes her charges of demourage in staying there the fraighters shall paie to the owners of the said shipp over and above the fraight agreed uppon by Charter party 10s. Per Tonne uppon all Tonnage taken in her according to the Charter partie as if the same had beene so agreed uppon at the writing and ensealing thereof."

Captain Joshua Downing.

Captain Joshua Downing, the Master of the *Royall Merchant*, appears to have made only the one voyage to Constantinople in the service of the Levant Company. There is no record of him either before that date, or for four years subsequent to his return. But from 1621, until his death in 1630, he is frequently mentioned in the *Calendars of State Papers, Domestic Series*, and twice in the *Colonial Series, East Indies*. In 1621, Downing was inspector of cordage at Woolwich and Deptford. In 1622, a Committee

[1] A blank in the MS. here. Scanderoon is probably meant.

was appointed to "treat with Captain Joshua Downing" about the chief command of the East India Ships. In 1625, as an officer of the King's works at Chatham, he estimated the value of the "pinnace *Lion's whelp*," and made an Inventory of "the names and former trades of all the officers and shipkeepers belonging to the twenty-nine vessels of the Navy riding at Chatham." He also reported on "the losses of the English and Hollanders" in the storm on the 13th October. In 1626, he made out the lists of men mustered aboard the *Adventure*, *Dreadnought* and *Rainbow*, and certified the defective condition of the *Great Sapphire* at Portsmouth. He also recommended three boatswains for promotion, remarking that he did not "desire that any whom he recommended should not be as beneficiall and thankfull to him as any other." In July, 1626, Downing was acting as a Commissioner of the Fleet at Portsmouth. About this time, he had drawn up some "Notes on the Navy," arranged under three heads. In 1627, there is evidence that he was unpopular. In February, the Special Commissioners for inquiring into the state of the Navy reported their inability to complete the survey of cordage at Chatham owing to interruptions from Joshua Downing, and, a month later, Thomas Rabenett complained of Captain Downing's "malice." Downing seems to have had more on his shoulders than he could manage, for he wrote to the Clerks of the Council that "important works are carrying on at Chatham under very insufficient superintendence," that Mr Wilson, the master attendant, was a "willing but aged and crazy man," that he, Downing, would use his "best care," but that he was "not an Atlas." In the following year his health failed. In February, 1628, he was "sick-a-bed....The stores are very barren of provisions, and works go on slowly for want of the ordinary pay." At the same time he wrote to the Treasurer of the Navy to know "whether the officers will come down and take a survey of the stores and provisions," so that he might "have his discharge." However, two months later, in April, 1628, he was still at Chatham, whence he wrote to recommend Christopher Laughlyne for a purser's place. In the same letter, he remarked of the porter of the yard at Chatham that he did not "conceive him to be fitting" for his post. Whether Downing ever got his "discharge" is not clear. In January, 1629, he once more wrote from Chatham recommending

a purser. On the 2nd March, 1629, his will[1], dated 1st January of the same year, was proved. He left his son and namesake as his executor, and a daughter, Martha, was also a legatee. In the will, complaint is made of "the great charge" Downing had sustained on behalf of his nephews Henry and Jasper, sons of his "sister Scroles." The last reference to Downing is in 1630, when "Captain Phineas Pett requested to have the lodgings at Chatham formerly enjoyed by Captain Downing."

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[1] To be found at Somerset House, catalogued as 23 *Scroope*.

APPENDIX D.

THE LEVANT COMPANY AND ITS AGENTS AT CONSTANTINOPLE IN MUNDY'S TIME.

The Levant or Turkey Company, incorporated by Charter in 1581, was the outcome of English attempts to trade in the Mediterranean from 1413 onwards. The great obstacles to private enterprise on the shores of Southern Europe at that time were the danger of attack by the dreaded Barbary Corsairs or Turkish pirates, and the consequent necessity of united effort in any commercial undertaking in those regions.

The earlier history of the Company is briefly as follows. In 1579, Queen Elizabeth empowered three English merchants, William Harebone, Edward Ellis and Richard Staple, to use their endeavours to obtain from Sultan Murād III. social and commercial privileges for the English nation. Their mission was successful, and in 1581, as stated above, letters patent were granted to "The Company of Merchants of the Levant," which then consisted of only five members. The first resident ambassador from England to Constantinople on their behalf was Sir Edward Barton, who held that post from 1588 to his death in 1597. In 1593, during his term of office, the Company was reconstituted for a period of twelve years, with the title of "Governor and Company of Merchants of the Levant." His successor was Henry Lello (1597—1607) in whose time the charter was renewed in perpetuity by James I., the Company being thenceforth known as "the Governor and Company of Merchants of England trading to the Levant Seas." The first ambassador at Constantinople under the new and extended charter was Sir Thomas Glover (1607—1611), who was succeeded by Paul Pindar, Mundy's patron.

The management of the Levant Company was vested in a Court of Directors, but it differed from the East India Company in that it was not a Joint Stock Company. Every man under twenty-six years of age paying £25, and over that age paying £50, was admitted a member and could then trade on his own account. The "Governor" at the time of Mundy's journey to Constantinople was Sir Thomas Low, the father of the "Mr. Francis Lowe" who is mentioned as one of the English merchants residing at Galata in 1620[1].

The Company progressed steadily for a long period, and the account given by Sir John Chardin, from observations during his travels in 1672, shows the extent of its advance in the first hundred years and the system of trade then prevailing. His information is valuable as it was acquired on the spot. Chardin writes[2]:—"The English drive a great Trade at Smyrna, and over all the Levant. This Trade is driv'n by a Royal Company setled at London: which is govern'd after a most prudent manner, and therefore cannot fail of success. It has stood almost these hundred Years, being first Confirm'd towards the middle of Queen Elizabeth's Raign. A Raign famous for having, among other Things, giv'n Life to several Trading Companies, particularly those of Hamborough, Russia, Greenland, the East-Indies and Turkie, all which remain to this Day. Trade was then in its Infancy; and there is no greater Mark of the Ignorance of those Times, in reference to Countries, though but a little remote, then the Association which those Merchants made: for they joyn'd several together in one Body, for mutual Conduct and Assistance. That Company which relates to the Turkish Trade is of a particular sort: For it is not a Society, where every one puts in a Sum for one General and United Stock: It is a Body which has nothing in Common, but a peculiar Grant and Priviledge to Trade into the Levant. It assumes to it self the Name of *The Regulated Company*. None are admitted into it, but Sons of Merchants, or such as have serv'd an Apprenticeship to the Trade, which in England is for Seven Years. They give to be admitted into the Society about an Hundred and Twenty Crowns, f under the Age of Twenty Five Years: and double if above

[1] See p. 45.

[2] Sir John Chardin, *Travels into Persia*, etc., pp. 4—6.

that Age. The Company never commits to any one single Person their Power, nor the sole Management of their Affairs, but manage their Business among themselves by the Plurality of Voices. So that who has sufficient to drive a Trade that will bear an Imposition of Eight Crowns, has as good a Vote as he that Trades for an Hundred Thousand. This Assembly, thus Democratical, sends out Ships, Levies Taxes upon all their Commodities, presents the Ambassador whom the King sends to the Port, Elects two Consuls, the one for Smyrna, the other for Aleppo, and prevents the sending of Goods which are not thought proper for the Levant. It consists at present of about Three Hundred Merchants, besides that they bring up in Turkie a great number of young Persons well descended, who learn the Trade upon the Place it self. This Trade amounts to about Five or Six Hundred Thousands Pounds yearly, and consists in Cloaths made in England, and Silver which they carry as well out of England, as out of Spain, France and Italy: In exchange of which they bring back Wool, Cotton-Yarn, Galls, Raw Silk and Wov'n, together with some other Commodities of less value. Now the Company, finding that Malice which Interest begets among Persons of the same Profession, would in time be the Ruine of their Society, by Enhancing or Loring the price of Goods on purpose to under-sell one another; and that the same Malice causes the Merchants to be at variance with the Consuls, the Consuls with the Ambassador; (which is the reason that many times where Expences are requisite, an unseasonable Stinginess in the Ambassador causes great Impositions and Fines, and other severe Vexations to the Nation) The Company, I say, foreseeing these Mischiefs, have prudently provided a Remedy to prevent 'em. For the English Cloth, of which they send into Turkie about Twenty Thousand Pieces yearly, and the chiefest part of the rest of their Merchandize is sent to the Factors with a Bill or Invoice of the Price at what they are bound to sell; together with another Bill of the Price certain for those Goods which they give order to be bought; and by that means it never happens that the Merchants receive any Damage in the Prospect or Design of their Profit. For the prevention of these and other disorders, the Company gives a Pension to the English Ambassador, who resides at the Port; to the Consuls and all their principal Offic[illegible]e Minister, the Chancellor, the Secretary, the Interp[illegible]saries and others. Which Officers have

no Power to Levy any Taxes or Sums of Money upon the Merchandize, whether under the pretence of Duties, or Presents, or any other extraordinary Expences. But when any thing of that Nature is to be done, they give Notice to the Deputies of the Nation, who are Two Persons appointed to Act in the Name of the rest. These Deputies examine and debate with the Ambassador, or the Consul, What is fit to be given, What Journeys are necessary to be made to the Port, and what is there to be transacted: Not but that the Ambassador or Consul may not Act of themselves, but they observe that method to acquit and justifie themselves; and sometimes upon Emergent and Extraordinary Affairs they assemble the whole Body of the Nation. So soon as they are come to a Result, the Deputies give Notice to the Treasurer to provide what is necessary, whether it be Money, Toys or Curiosities. This Treasurer also is setl'd by the Company, and provides Money for every thing, discharges punctually all manner of Charges and Expences, and pays exactly the Wages of every Officer. Thus the Ambassador and Consuls have no more to do but only to mind the Security of the English Nation, and the good of Trade, without being incumber'd and diverted by their own Interests. There are also many other excellent Regulations and Orders for the support of their Trade in the Levant; by which means they carry it on with Honour and Profit beyond any of their Neighbors."

But about a century and a half later Hobhouse[1], who visited Constantinople in 1810, has a very different story to tell. He says:—"The resident members of the Levant Company at Pera, have lately much diminished in numbers...they do not possess more than five or six mercantile establishments...the number of persons protected by the ambassador does not in the whole amount to one hundred."

In 1617[2], when Mundy sailed in the *Royall Merchant* to Scanderoon the Levant Company was still struggling to obtain a firm foothold in the Ottoman dominions, and, during the three years that he remained in Constantinople[3], he must have heard some of the many and bitter complaints that the English merchants had at that time to make of their treatment at the hands of Turkish officials.

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[1] Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania*, vol. II. p. 828.

[2] See pp. 14 and 166—168.

[3] See pp. 21—23.

Paul Pindar, Ambassador at Constantinople, 1611—1619.

When Mundy reached Constantinople with James Wyche, in 1617, he found Paul Pindar acting as ambassador to the Porte in the interests of the Levant Company. Pindar had succeeded Sir Thomas Glover in 1611, and his letter, notifying his arrival at the Ottoman capital, was received by the Court of Directors in London on the 20th December in that year. In this letter Pindar seems to have applied for an increase of pay, for, on the 13th January, 1613, the following passage occurs in the Proceedings of the Court, "Mr. Pindar Embassadours desire of allowance for Extraordinary rejected and wrote him that [he] Confines himself in such a Competent Limit of Expences as their former allowance may be Sufficient to maintain him[1]."

In 1615, Pindar wrote to the Court making various requests, and among other favours he desired the payment of certain money due to him in June of the previous year. The minute on this letter was as follows:—"A Generall Court...21st June 1615... A letter from Mr. Paul Pindar Ambassadour at Constantinople dated the 22th of Aprill was now read and considered of desireing to be free from impositions after the example of his Predecessor, praying also a sufficient Preacher may be sent over in place of Mr. Foord lately returned thence; and desireing some course may be thought on to prevent the extraordinary stretching and over drawing of cloth tending to losse in that Comodity and disreputation thereof in those partes. Whereuppon it was ordered that care should be taken to provide for those buisinesses and an answere to his letters returned with all convenient expedition. And whereas also the said Ambassadour made request for paiment of his monyes due by the Company at Midsummer last and otherwise for interest for forbearance, because he is desirous to employ them for his advantage at Constantinople This Court thought fitt in respect they were out of Cash for [the] present to intreat Mr. Raph Pindar[2] brother to the Ambassadour who was present at this meeting to stay till Michaelmas next uppon the

[1] *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 147.

[2] See p. 134. Ralph Pindar was father of Paul Pindar, junior, who was therefore nephew to Sir Paul Pindar, and *not* his cousin, as stated by Mundy on p. 41.

same condition as formerly which he consented unto in hope of satisfaction at the time[1]." Pindar was evidently piqued at the Court's want of generosity towards him and at their refusal to allow him to trade on his own account, for in June, 1616, he petitioned to be recalled, alleging that his health could no longer bear the strain of his duties. The year 1615 had also been one of trouble for trade in the Levant, owing to the depredations of pirates, and a serious encounter between them and the Company's ships, which occurred about that time, may have intensified Pindar's wish to be relieved of his onerous position. The Court of Directors, however, realized that their interests were being well looked after, and had no desire to lose Pindar's services, for we read in their Proceedings of the 11th September, 1616, and 9th January, 1617, as follows:—"A letter from the Ambassadour Mr. Pindar was read at this Court, dated in Pera the 15th. and 29th. of June, where he signified to the Company that he would not continue his place of Ambassadour by reason of the indisposition of his body &c., whereof he prayeth the Company to take notice, whereuppon this Court have intreated Mr. Nicholas Leate...to conceave a letter in answere thereof to the Ambassadour requesting him to continue his place for a yeare or two longer, as a request from the whole Company[2]....It was ordered and thought fitt, that in the letter to Mr. Pindar the Ambassadour, he should be required to stay at Constantinople untill the troubles there were past over and the affaires of the Company settled to some good purpose, as best knowing out of his experience how to manage all thinges for the behoofe of this Society[3]."

That the question of the money was the chief cause of Pindar's resignation is clear from the minute on his answer to the Court's request. On the 26th March, 1617, "A letter from the Ambassadour at Constantinople was read at this Court dated the 4th of January wherein he relateth the ill Termes our Nation standes in there, and that hee is content to continue there at the Companyes request till the first of March next, but not to stand to his former allowance. Whereuppon it was ordered that [a] letter be written him, that towardes the maintenance of his

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[1] *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 147, p. 152 a.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 147, p. 169. [3] *Ibid.*, vol. 147, p. 175.

charge, the Company do appoint him [?] 4000[1] Chequins for the yeare ensuing to be taken upp quarterlie to saie [?] 1000[1] Chequins per quarter per Exchange, on any of the Company at 5*s*. per dollar of 80 Aspers, at 30 dayes sight, And if the mony be not paid here within a Monneth after it is due the partie to whom the said bills are payable shall have interest allowed him after the said bills are paid[2]."

Mundy, who reached Constantinople early in 1617[3], says that "Heere the English Merchants passe verie Commodiouseley[4]." The Ambassador, however, thought differently. Indeed, Sultan Ahmad's treatment of the members of the Company seems to have goaded their representative to desperation, for at a Court held on the 24th September, 1617, was read "A letter from Mr. Paul Pindar Ambassadour in Constantinople dated the 3d of July last, and brought by Mr. Kentish...wherein he amplie related ...the little esteeme there had of his Majesties letter sent by Mr. Kentish and of himselfe, and the whole Nation there, terming them pirates deserving to be punished, for redresse whereof his opinion is that the Company do Procure the Ambassadours revocation, and not to send any Ambassadour, Agent or shipping[5]."

Later on, when the "Generall Court of Election" assembled on the 4th February, 1618, it was decided to abolish the office of Ambassador at Constantinople. "At this Court which was especially assembled for the yearely election of officers, according to the words and warrant of His Majesties Charter, Mr. Deputy (before the entrance into that buisines) aquainted the Company that following the direction of a former Act of Court, himself and some other Committees authorised for that purpose, had attended the Lords of the Counsell for letters to recall home Mr. Pindar the Ambassadour at Constantinople, and to leave in his place, some such Persons of sufficiency and discretion as this Society or the said Committes should choose and nominate unto him to remaine Agent there, untill his Majestie should otherwise dispose of that employment which said letters were now read and

[1] The figures in the original are not clearly legible.
[2] *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 147, p. 178.
[3] See pp. 14 and 21.
[4] See p. 22.
[5] *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 147, p. 182.

approved of, bearing date the 25th of January; yett for some reasons, the name of the said Agent so to be established was thought fitt and consented unto at this court to be concealed for a time for better consequence in the affaires of the Company and therefore his name not to be published till an other opportunity. Meane while the said letters and others from this Court are to be signed and sent away by the next post and the whole carriage of this buisines was well approved of[1]." The death of Ahmad, in November, 1617, however, changed the complexion of affairs for the English, and three months later, on the deposition of Mustafa, his successor, and the accession of Osmān[2], brighter days dawned for the members of the Levant Company and the question of abolishing the office of Ambassador at Constantinople was allowed to drop.

Pindar remained on in office, but in May, 1619, when the Company's resources were again at a low ebb, the Court decided "that letters may be procured from the king for revocation of Mr. Paul Pindar the now Ambassadour at Constantinople in respect of the great charge he putt the Companie unto, and his owne losses of health and other impediments and prejudice in his private Estate[3]." This time Pindar's recall was confirmed. He remained in Constantinople until the arrival of his successor, and started on his homeward journey on the 6th May, 1620[4]. He travelled overland and arrived in London on the 16th September[5]. On the 10th October he presented himself before the Court of the Levant Company and on the 12th April, 1621, his accounts were "considered and reported on."

After this, Pindar's connection with the Company practically ceased. The story of his later years has been chronicled in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but two statements in that work regarding Pindar, during the years 1611—1620, require correction. Firstly, he is supposed to have returned to England about 1616, but that he remained in Constantinople for "eight yeares and eight monethes[4]" consecutively, that is until 1620, as Mundy relates, is clear from the extracts from the *Court Books* of the Levant

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[1] *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 148, p. 7 a.
[2] See p. 21.
[3] *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 148, p. 27.
[4] See p. 41.
[5] See p. 135 f.

Company quoted above. Secondly, on the authority of Nichols[1], and Philipot[2], Pindar is said to have been knighted during a royal progress in July and August, 1620. But it is evident from Mundy's journal, that he did not reach Dover until the 13th September of 1620[3]. Therefore, the date of his knighthood as given in the *Dictionary* is obviously wrong, though he undoubtedly became Sir Paul shortly after his return from Constantinople.

Sir John Eyre, Pindar's successor at Constantinople, 1619—1621.

Of Sir John Eyre, Pearson writes[4], he "is, as far as I am aware, unknown to fame." This may be correct with regard to his earlier career, but Sir John certainly made himself unpleasantly notorious while in the service of the Levant Company. He was the son of Sir William Eyre of Great Chauldfield, Peccasod, in the county of Wilts[5]. In 1619 he was recommended by the Marquis of Buckingham to supersede Pindar as ambassador at Constantinople, and the matter was taken into consideration at a "Generall Court" held on the 7th May:—"Whereas this Court was more especiallie assembled to read and consider of a letter from the Marquis of Buckingham directed to Mr. Governor and Companie bearing date the 13th of Aprill last and to frame an answere thereunto, beeing in recomendation of Sir John Eyres to be appointed Ambassadour to Constantinople if any were sent to that place and Employment intimating also the Kings pleasure and desire therein. The buisines was now discussed of at large and though the said Sir John Eyres was said to be an able and sufficient Person to undertake such a service yett this Court finding the Estate of the Company to be utterly unable for the present to beare the Charge of an Ambassadour did resolve to intreat none at all might be sent by them, as the Constitution of

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[1] *Progresses of James I.*, IV. 611.

[2] *A Perfect Collection or Catalogue of All Knights Batchelaurs made by King James*, &c.

[3] See p. 134.

[4] *Chaplains of the Levant Company*, p. 41.

[5] Wills at Somerset House, 138 *Harvey*.

their affaires now stand, but rather to have leave to have an Agent at Constantinople untill such time as this Societie shall grow out of debt. Whereuppon it was ordered that a letter should be returned to the lord Marquis not onely to beseech his lordship to moove his Majestie the Company might be spared in the course intended by Sir John Eyres, untill they are better able to hearken to the Charge of such an Employment as he desires at which time he shalbe putt in nomination...[1]." The Court's objections to an Ambassador on the score of expense were of no avail and Buckingham insisted on the preferment of his nominee. It is probable that the royal favourite was under some obligation either to Sir John Eyre or to his family and desired to pay his debt at the expense of the Company. It is difficult to find any other explanation for the pressure exerted to advance an individual who was apparently quite unfitted for so delicate a post. The office of ambassador at Constantinople was a position full of difficulty, embarrassment, and occasionally of danger. It needed a man possessed of an equal amount of energy and tact, in addition to an intimate knowledge of the customs and prejudices of the Turks. It behoved the ambassador, while scrupulously maintaining the rights of his country, to use the greatest moderation and not to resort to menace save in the last extremity. For such an office, Buckingham's candidate was eminently unfitted, and his persistence in forcing the appointment on the Company only brought about disastrous results and lowered the prestige of the English at Constantinople.

On the 1st July, 1619, the Court reluctantly gave up their opposition to the re-appointment of an ambassador and accepted the inevitable with apparent willingness. It was agreed, "for as much as his Majestie had declared himselfe for the choice of the Person that he wished might be elected namely either Sir Thomas Glover[2] or Sir John Eyres leaving both to the Companies Consideration, as appeared by letters from his highnes dated 27th of June, which was read at this present, with respectful observation. The Court now accordinglie proceeded to the choice desired first calling Sir John Eyres to clear some doubts or aspersions, who

[1] *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 148, p. 27.

[2] He had already filled the post of ambassador at Constantinople for four years. See p. 171.

gave such satisfaction to all points propounded as in humble Conformitie to his Majesties pleasure and other Considerations he was with an unanime consent of the whole Companie chosen Ambassadour and was made free of the same[1]." At the same Court, a Committee was appointed "to meete and treate with Sir John Eyres about his Establishment, according to former presidents." On the 5th August, it was agreed that Sir John Eyre's household goods should be sent to Constantinople on the *Eagle*[2].

The ambassador's unfitness for his office showed itself almost immediately. His letter to the Company in September, 1620, written shortly after his arrival, gave great offence, and led to a petition being drawn up by "the Merchants trading to the Levant" to the Privy Council "praying consideration of letters" to the Court from Sir John Eyre[3]. He quarrelled with the English residents, was unpopular with the Turks, and failed to inspire either respect or confidence. In April, 1621, he sent home a declaration by the merchants of Constantinople of their refusal to pay money demanded by him, but if he expected support from the Court, he was greatly mistaken, as the Directors were probably glad of an excuse to be rid of the unwanted agent foisted on them by Buckingham. At any rate, they made use of the various complaints of Eyre's conduct to summarily recall him. Mr John Chapman was sent to Constantinople at the end of 1621, with orders to take charge of the embassy until the arrival of Sir Thomas Roe, Eyre's successor.

On his return to England, Sir John Eyre was charged with extorting £3000 more than his due from the English at Constantinople, and the Court further declared that "his extortions and ill speeches abroad have well nigh overthrown this trade." Eyre's defence was that the Court had agreed to pay him 5000 sequins a year while at Constantinople and half a year's salary in advance, on condition that he made no claim on consulage moneys. He urged that, not having received his allowance within the stipulated time, he had seized the consulage moneys to reimburse himself. The Court desired restitution of the surplus amount that the ambassador had thus acquired. The matter was

[1] *State Papers, Foreign Archives*, vol. 148, p. 31 a.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 41 a.
[3] *Ibid., Turkey*, vol. 7.

referred to the Privy Council, when Buckingham's influence probably procured the decision that, as Sir John Eyre had "suffered much disgrace and been recalled two years before his time," he should be allowed to retain the surplus money on condition of dropping all future claims[1].

The office of ambassador under the Levant Company appears to have been Sir John Eyre's first and last public appointment. He died eighteen years later, in 1639. In his will he declared that his "whole estate besides my howsehold stuffe is but twoe hundred and fiefty poundes in money which is in my Iron Chest at London." He left this small property to his nephew, Edward Eyre[2].

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[1] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, June, 1622.

[2] Wills at Somerset House, 138 *Harvey*.

APPENDIX E.

CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(Extracts from the writings of Grimston, Gainsford and Sandys[1].)

1. *Edward Grimston's Description of Constantinople*[2].

This Citie[3] is situated upon a point of firme Land advanced into the channell which comes from Pontus Euxinus, or the blacke Sea, which Geographers call the Bosphorus of Thrace. It is watred of three parts by the Sea: towards the North by a Gulfe or Arme of the Sea, called the Horne, which the Bosphorus thrusts into Europe, and makes the Haven of Constantinople the goodliest, the deepest and the most commodious in Europe. Towards the East it is watred by the extremetie of the channell or Bosphorus; on the South by the waves of the Propontique Sea, and upon the South it hath the firme Land of Thrace. The

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[1] See p. 25, note 3, p. 27, note 4, and p. 30, note 2.

[2] The extracts that follow are taken from Edward Grimston's translation of Michel Baudier's *History of the Imperiall Estate of the Grand Seigneurs*. Michel Baudier, who was born in Languedoc and died *circ.* 1645, was the author of several historical works, all written in a heavy verbose style. His *Histoire générale du sérail et de la cour de l'empereur des Turcs* was published in Paris in 1626. For the full title of the English version of the work, see note 1 on p. 25. There is a sub-title which runs, *The History of the Serrail, and of the Court of the Grand Seigneur, Emperour of the Turks. Wherein is Seene the Image of the Othoman Greatnesse. A Table of humane passions, and the Examples of the inconstant prosperities of the Court. Translated out of French by Edward Grimeston Serjeant at Armes.* The book contains 191 quarto pages. Bound up with it is, *The History of the Court of the King of China Written in French by the Seigneur Michael Baudier of Languedoc. Translated by E. G.* 1635. The two books are dedicated by Grimston to his "Worthy kinsman, Sir Harbottel Grimeston Knight and Baronet." Of Sir Harbottle Grimston, the translator's nephew, there is an account in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

[3] For Mundy's abstract of Grimston's remarks on Constantinople, see pp. 25—27.

form is Triangular, whereof the largest side is that towards the Serrail, which lookes to the Sea towards the seven Towers[1], and its vast circuit contains about five leagues: The wals are of an extraordinary height, with two false Brayes towards the Land[1], and inclose seven Hils within it. The first serves as a Theatre to the Imperiall Palace of the Prince, where it is commodiously and proudly seated: The last lookes upon the extremity of the farthest parts of the Towne opposite to this, and upon the way which leads to Andrinopolis by Land. But betwixt the third and the fourth, where a Valley doth extend it selfe called the great, is an Aqueduct of rare structure, which Constantine caused to be drawne seven leagues from the Citie, and Solyman the Second advanced it two Leagues beyond, and increased the current of water in so great abundance, as they doe serve seven hundred and forty Fountaines for the publique, not reckoning those which are drawne into divers parts to furnish the great number of Bathes which serve for delights[2], and the Turkes superstition. Upon the last of the seven Hils are yet to be seene the ancient buildings of a Fort strengthened with seven Towres in the midst of the situation: the Turkes call it Giedicula[3], that is to say, the Fort of the seven Towres, in the which the wonders of Art was so great in old time, as what was spoken in the one was heard in all the rest, not all at one instant, but successively and in order. Two hundred and fifty Souldiers are in guard, commanded by a Captaine who hath the charge, who may not goe forth without the leave of the Grand Vizir, except it be on two dayes in the yeare, when they celebrate their Feasts of Bayrans[4], or Easter. The first Turkish Emperour which possest Constantinople lodged their treasure in these Towres: The one was full of Ingots, and coyned gold; two of them contained the silver that was coyned and in Ingots: another had divers armes and ornaments for Souldiers, and the Caparisons for Horses, enricht with gold, silver and precious stones: the fift served for ancient Armes, Medales, and other precious remaynders of Antiquity: the sixt contained the Engines for Warre: and the seventh, the Rols and Records of the Empire; accompanied with a goodly gallery, in the which

[1] See p. 31.
[2] See p. 37.
[3] *Yedi Küle.* See note 2 on p. 31.
[4] *Bairām.*

were placed the rich spoyles which Selym the first brought from Tauras, when he triumphed over Persia. All these treasures were carefully kept untill the Reigne of Selym the Second.... Constantinople hath within the enclosure of the wals above two thousand Mosquees, or Turkish Temples built by their Emperors.... The Chiefe of all these Mosquees is that which hath beene erected in the ancient Temple of Sancta Sophia, called by the Turkes Ayasophia[1]....Besides this great and admirable Mosquee, there are foure others of note, the durable markes of the magnificence of the Turkish Emperours....The Grecians which are Christians, have within Constantinople forty Churches for their divine Service; the Armenians have fowre, and the Latines (lesse favoured then these) have but two: It is true that most of them are lodged at Galata, now called Pera, which is on the other side of the Channell, where they have nine Churches for their Devotions and holy Mysteries. The Jewes have the credit to be within the City in nine severall quarters, and have eight and thirty Synagogues....The walls of this Imperiall City are yet firme and entire. They are double upon the firme Land[2], except it be towards the Gate of Ayachapezi, that is to say, the holy Gate, by reason of the great number of Religious bodies which were in a Church neere unto that Gate...there are nineteen gates as well upon the firme Land as towards the Sea, which serve for an entrance into this City. Many great places are extended for the commodity of the Publike, some have preserved the ancient Pyramides, and the workes of Brasse erected by Christian Emperours, amongst others that which they call Petrome, where there are to be seene whole Obelisques; and three great Serpents of Marble creeping upward wreathed one within the other[3].... The shops for merchants exceed the number of forty eight thousand; they are divided according to the diversity of trades or Merchandizes into divers places; but every trade hath his quarter, and in divers parts for the commoditie of the Publique. Only Goldsmiths, Jewellers and Merchants of cloth of gold are in one place called Baystan[4], that is to say Market; the others Bazars. This rich place is invironed with wals sixe foote thicke; there

[1] See p. 35. Ayasophia represents the modern Greek pronunciation of ἁγια σοφία.

[2] See p. 31. [3] See p. 33. [4] See p. 37.

are foure double Gates one before the other, like unto a little Towne, vaulted round about. This rich Market place hath foure and twenty Pillars which support the vault, under the which there are many little shops like unto boxes in the wall, or in the Pillars, every one is sixe foote broad and foure long: There they shew forth their rich Merchandizes upon little Tables which are before them....Besides the Baystan, there is another lesse invironed with à wall, and supported by sixteene small Pillars...without it is the detestable Market where they sell men and women[1]....The taxe of those which imbarque themselves to travaile, which is an Aspre for every head if they be Turkes, and two if they be Christians or Jewes, is of no small importance. The Tribute called in Turkie Charay[2], which is levied upon the Jewes in Constantinople, after the rate of a Sequin for everie male Childe is worth eleven Millions[3] three hundred Sequins yearely, although there be many of that Nation which are free from this Tribute. They doe also give a present of three thousand Sequins everie yeare, for the confirmation of their Priviledges, and to have a Rabbin to command their Synagogues, and twelve hundred Sequins to have leave to burie their Dead. The Christians, Grecians, within three miles or a league of Constantinople, pay for every Male a Sequin, which amounts to the summe of above thirtie eight thousand Sequins: They doe also give five and twentie thousand yearely for their priviledge to have a Patriarch, and to preserve the number of their Churches. The priviledge of their burials cost them above three thousand Sequins....But to returne to this great Citie of Constantinople, the Magnificences of the Princes which possesse it at this day, and the riches of some Bashawes, or great Men of the Court, have caused above three hundred Carravasserrails to bee built: these are great and vast places to lodge Strangers....The Arsenall is one of the goodliest and rarest things in Constantinople[4]; it is upon the Sea Shoare, and containes a hundred and foure score Arches, under either of which enters a great Galley, yea, three may be safely lodged.

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[1] See p. 34.

[2] See note 1 on p. 26.

[3] See Mundy's correction of this statement on p. 26.

[4] See p. 39.

2. *Thomas Gainsford's Description of Constantinople*[1].

What I have said of Paris by way of comparison, concerning the government and orderly managing the affaires of a citie, I may well conclude against Constantinople: but because this Imperiall place looketh with a more Majesticall countenance then other Cities and lifteth up (as it were) a daring head against all contradiction for her superioritie: I must needes pensill out the line of her praises at some length, and tell you truely wherein her worthinesse consisteth, and yet may deceive opinion without true judgment. Constantinople, otherwise called Stanbole, the Beautifull, hath a handsome and formall triangle of a wall, the first part whereof reacheth from the Seven Towers[2] (which is a place for suppliment of a prison, a treasurie, and ward-robe) unto the Seraglio, some three English mile. The second from the Seraglio to Porta del Fieume a little more and both towards the sea, which runneth one way betweene Asia and Europe into the Euxinum; and another way to encounter a pretty fresh water River, beyond the North of Pera, and the third overlooketh the fields of Thracia, with a greater compasse and strength, because it is a double wall[2] and openeth three or foure gates, as Andrinople, Gratianople, the Tower gate, &c. into the countrey, which flourished when Pausanias was contented with the title of Duke and Captaine of the Spartanes, and built this wonderful towne by

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[1] The extracts here given are taken from *The Glory of England, or A True Description of many excellent prerogatives and remarkable blessings, whereby She Triumpheth over all the Nations of the World: With a justifiable comparison betweene the eminent Kingdomes of the Earth and Herselfe; plainely manifesting the defects of them all in regard of her sufficiencie and fulnesse of happinesse.* By T. G. [Thomas Gainsford], London, 1618. The book, a quarto volume of 332 pages, in two parts, is dedicated to the Duke of Buckingham. A revised edition appeared in 1619 and was re-issued in 1620.

Thomas Gainsford, who died in ?1624, served in Ireland against the Spaniards and during the rebellion of Tyrone, 1601—1610. He was the author of six printed works. An account of his life and writings is given in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography*. In this account there is no mention of Gainsford's travels on the Continent. He must, however, have been at Constantinople in 1607 for he says that he was an eye-witness of occurrences there which he describes in his *Glory of England*, p. 35.

For Mundy's version of Gainsford's description of Constantinople, see pp. 27—30.

[2] See p. 31.

the name of Bizantium, in honour of his father Bize, who was Admirall of the Grecian Navy, when Thebes and other cities strove for superiority: the wall is orderly beautified with square towers of hard stone[1], whose equall distance makes a reasonable shew, but that it resembles a painted Curtezan of outward good becoming, yet within full of corruption and danger. For concerning the streets, citizens, houses, or order of a well compacted Commonwealth, it retaineth nothing comming neere our London, or happinesse. The situation is yet a stately ascent from the sea, as if it had a pride to mocke at the swelling of any tempest: and embolden the Marchant with the security of the Sacra Porta, being indeed the goodliest Harbour in the world, twenty fathom deep, close to the shores of two cities[2]. Thus it containeth ten English miles in circumference, having no suburbs, and shewing much waste ground in the unfrequented places toward the land, especially where the Bashawes houses are sequestred from the hurliburly of the Trades-man.

The Seraglio is the palace of the Gran Signeur[3], yet is a name appropriate to divers sequestred places, wherein his women are detained, and hath questionlesse the derivation from our Latin word *Sera*, or locked up: it is a receptacle for divers thousands, enclosing as much ground as St. James parke. For the Large Courts are very large with severall guards of Janizaries[4], according to the necessity of the times, or neernesse to the Emperours person. The gardens are spacious with embattelled walls, stored with artillery, the gates most of them iron, kept by Capogies; the buildings are many and stately bearing in their front certaine Dowanas or open hals, which have cravesses of Persian stuffe, and are roomes of great receipt, wherein the officers of the palace sit in open view at their feasts and diet. The banquetting-houses, wherein his concubines and boyes are aparted from the court hurliburly, expose divers manner of structures and seeme indeed severall palaces, among whom there is one called a Caska[5] without the wall of the seraglio, close to the sea-side, where hee accustometh to take his gally[5] of the delicatest and richest

[1] See p. 32. [2] See p. 37 f. [3] See p. 35 f.

[4] See note 2 on p. 43. Mr Edwin Pears suggests that it is worth observing that already, in Mundy's time, a number of this body (Janissaries) were told off as permanent guards to various embassies by whom they were paid.

[5] See Mundy's explanations on p. 28.

presence that ever I beheld: for it is a quadrant of seven arches on a side cloister wise, like the Rialto walke in Venice; in the midst riseth a core of three or foure roomes with chimnies, whose mantell trees are of silver, the windows curiously glazed and besides protected with an iron grate all guilt over most gloriously: the whole frame so set with opals, rubies, emeralds, burnisht with golde, painted with flowers, and graced with inlayed worke of porphery, marble, jet, jasper, and delicate stones, that I am perswaded there is not such a bird cage in the world. Under the walls are stables for sea horses called Hippopatami, which is a monstrous beast taken in Nilus, Elephants, Tigres, and Dolphines: sometimes they have Crocadiles and Rhinoceros: within are Roebuckes, white Partridges, and Turtles, the bird of Arabia, and many beasts and fowles of Affrica and India. The walkes are shaded with Cipres, Cedar, Turpentine, and trees which wee only know by their names, amongst which, such as affoord sustenance, are called figs, almonds, olives, pomegranets, limons, orenges, and such like: but it should seeme they are here as it were enforced and kept in order with extraordinary diligence: for the sunne kisseth them not with that fervency, as may make them large, or ripen in their proper kindes.

The City is very populous toward the harbour, the Besisteine[1], Bashawes houses, mosques, conduits, tombs and monuments, open as it were a storehouse of magnificent workes: yet when I read, that Constantine unplumed Rome, and as it were robbed all the world, making this place accessary to the theft, and cannot finde the particulars in mine inventory, I marvell who hath either dared to purloine them, or presumed to ruinate and deface them. For the cheefest structures are now the great Seralio[2], the lesser Seralios, the seven towres[3], the double wall[3], divers Bashawes houses, before some of which are spacious quadrants graced with antiquities, recording the ancient manner of turnaiments, when the Greekes flourished: the Mosques or Temples, amongst whom the Sophia, Solimana and Amorata[4] are indeed heaps of ostentation and fabricks of great delight, the place called Jobs tombe, sequestred for the buriall of the Emperours children, who are commonly all strangled on the day of his elder sonnes inaugura-

[1] See p. 37. [2] See p. 35 f. [3] See p. 31.
[4] See p. 35.

tion by Mutes, and then enclosed in coffins of Cypres, and so received by the Mufti into chapples consecrated for that purpose; the Patriarcks house: certaine balneas[1]; aqua ductus; Constantine's palace[1]; and the Towers on the walls[2]. To these you may adde the Besisteine, a place like our Exchange, for varietie of marchandize[1], market of virgins[3], selling of slaves, and the vaults under ground fenced with iron gates to secure their treasure, which especially belongeth to the Jewes, who farme the office of Dacii or customes, and are (as it were) the Turkes' receivers, so that these places must needes bee strongly guarded, both to prevent the furie of the Janizaries, who are very irregular in their tumults, and the extremity of fire and earthquakes[4], to whose violence the Citie is many tymes subject.

The next division is Galata, a city over against it, divided onely by the sea, no broader heere then our Tamisis, of great antiquity, walled about, and retaining a particular name and renowne, for holding out a yeere and better, after Constantinople was surprized: it standeth likewise up a hill, and equals it both for beastlinesse, confusion and uncomely streets and houses: heere live Greekes, and the Francks, as they terme the Papists (of what nation soever), have a Church by permission, the Curtezan likewise liveth at some liberty; yet is it death for any Christian to lie with a Turkish woman or Jew.

The third part of this great city comprehendeth the vine of Pera[5], which is a huge suburbs, compassing Galata round about, a place of quiet dwelling, good aire, and pleasant gardens: yet in regard the many thousand tombs of Turkes (for you must know that neither Turke, Jew, nor Christian, interre any corps in their Mosques or city, except they build a chapple of purpose, or have the priviledge of the Franck Church) fill up a great quantity of ground with disordered, confused, noysome and fearefull graves. On the one side toward the north-east, you have an Arsenall for gallies, a little beyond, a handsome Seralio, and somwhat further

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[1] See p. 37. [2] See p. 32.

[3] See p. 34. [4] See p. 39.

[5] See note 2 on p. 22 and p. 41. Pera is the Greek word for *trans*, beyond, and was applied to all that part of Constantinople *beyond* the Golden Horn. In such part was included Galata, a walled city, which is sometimes spoken of as "Galata of Pera." I am indebted for this note to Mr Edwin Pears.

a pretty fresh water river, as if they lay in sequence, by whose banks are certaine houses erected of purpose, for the pleasure and reposednes of speciall Bashawes. On the other side toward the south west, the office of artilery called Tapanaw[1], inviteth you to the view of such ordnance and munition, that for number, greatnesse, and use surmount any one city of Europe: you have likewise another Seralio, and in these suburbs are resident the English, French and Venetian Ambassadours[2]: as for the Persian, Emperours of Germany, and Polacks, they lived in the great city, and sometimes visited one another, as either necessitie of businesse, or pleasure of invitation affoorded.

The last quarter of this division affoordeth the object of a towne in Asia called Scideron, or Scideret, betweene which and Constantinople the sea runneth 20 English mile in length, and onely two in bredth, as farre as Pompey's pillar[3] and the blacke Tower, resembling a lace fringed with spangles and purles: for the Bashawes and Chawses houses so stand on both sides, as if they were made to answer a proportion of handsomnesse: but when time and a daies travell hath taken away the pleasure of this spectacle, then fall you into a large gulph, once called Euxinum mare, now the blacke sea, extending a thousand miles, as farre as Trebisond: on the farther shore of the continent now called Russia is shouldred up close Mœotis Palus: into which the great river of Tanais sendeth his streames, as if a messenger of glad tydings and businesse should hasten to discharge his duty.

Thus I confesse, if on the towers of the Amorata, or battlements of the Sophia[4], you beheld all at once, as it were one united body, it would equall, if not surpasse London, for spaciousnesse of grounds, some monuments, and divers palaces and houses: but yet come in no way neere my satisfaction, as being defective in many things, which I supposed to excell in it, and deficient in all things wherein a happy countrey supplieth the

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[1] See p. 39.

[2] See p. 41. Mr Edwin Pears remarks that Mundy's statement as to the residence of Pindar at Pera is interesting, because the earlier ambassadors had resided at Karabali.

[3] See p. 20. Mr Edwin Pears tells me that the pedestal of the so-called pillar still exists. It is on one of the rocks known as the Symplegades. Portions of the Latin inscription can still be made out.

[4] See p. 35.

want of her enhabitants. For heere is neither good lodging, proportionable fare, free recourse, gracious entertainement, true religion, secure abiding[1], allowable pleasure, orderly governement, or any thing wherin a noble citie is made glorious indeed: nor is it so populous as report hath busied us, but *fama malum*, and it may be, the plague having consumed 80000[2], and the army of 200000 deducted, diminished somewhat the glory, and left the rest of the people to enjoy more freedome. And thus much for Constantinople.

3. *George Sandys'*[3] *Description of Constantinople*[4].

The Emperor Constantine...built his Citie where as now it standeth....Finished it was on the eleventh of May, in the yeare 331, and consecrated to the blessed Virgin. Rome he bereft of her ornaments to adorne it, fetching from thence in one yeare more antiquities then twentie Emperours had brought thither before in an hundred. Among the rest that huge obeliske of Theban marble, called Placaton by the Greeks (formerly brought

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[1] Mundy, however, thought differently, in 1620. See p. 22.

[2] See p. 40.

[3] George Sandys, poet, born in 1577, was the seventh and youngest son of Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York. In 1610, George Sandys travelled to the Levant and spent a year in Turkey, Egypt and Palestine. On his return to England he published an account of his travels under the title of *A Relation of a Journey begun An: Dom:* 1610. *Foure Bookes. Containing a description of the Turkish Empire, of Aegypt, of the Holy land, of the Remote parts of Italy, and Ilands adjoyning. London. Printed for W: Barrett.* 1615. This edition has, as a frontispiece, a portrait of "George Sandes Poet and Traveller. From an original Picture at Ombersley" [in Worcestershire, where the family (Lord Sandys) is still established]. See note 6 on p. 26, where the title of Sandys' work is that of the 7th or 1673 edition and *not* that of the 1st or 1615 edition as is there stated. The book, dedicated to Prince Charles, is adorned with maps and illustrations. It was well received and ran to seven editions between 1615 and 1673.

In 1621, George Sandys went to America, where he continued his literary work and where he completed a translation in verse of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. On his return, *circ.* 1631, he became a gentleman of the privy chamber of Charles I. and was admitted to the intimate friendship of Lord Falkland. His later years were occupied with poetic paraphrases of the Scriptures. He died in 1644. See the account of his life in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography*.

[4] See note 2 on p. 30. Mundy introduces his extracts from Sandys' work thus:—"More abstracted out of Mr. Sandis his acurate observation and elegant discription of his travells, being about 1610, and where, among the rest, hee relates of Constantinople and the gran Signiors Seraglio from Page 29 to [77] thus:" Mundy's figures refer to the 1615 edition of Sandys' book.

out of Ægypt), and erected in the Forum, with a brazen statue of antique and Dedalian workmanship set upon the top of a Columne, and called by his name, throwne downe by a violent wind in the reign of Alexis. This place was...also beautified with the Trojan Palladium....

This Citie, by destinie appointed, and by nature seated for Soveraigntie, was first the seate of the Romane Emperours, then of the Greek, as now it is of the Turkish....It stands on a cape of land neare the entrance of the Bosphorus. In forme triangular: on the East side washed with the same, and on the North side with the Haven, adjoyning on the West to the Continent. Walled with bricke and stone[1], intermixed orderly: having foure and twentie gates and posternes[2]; whereof five do regard the land, and nineteene the water: being about thirteene miles in circumference. Then this there is hardly in nature a more delicate object, if beheld from the sea or adjoyning mountaines: the loftie and beautifull Cypresse trees so intermixed with the buildings, that it seemeth to present a Citie in a wood to the pleased beholders. Whose seven aspiring heads (for on soe many hils and no more, they say it is seated), are most of them crowned with magnificent Mosques[3], all of white marble, round in forme, and coupled above; being finished on the top with gilded spires that reflect the beames they receive with a marvellous splendor; some having two, some foure, some sixe adjoyninge turrets, exceeding high, and exceeding slender: tarrast aloft on the out-side like the maine top of a ship, and that in severall places equally distant; from whence the Talismanni with elated voices (for they use no bels) do congregate the people, pronouncing this Arabicke sentence: LA ILLAH ILLELLA MUHEMET RE SUL ALLAH: *viz.* There is but one God, and Mahomet his prophet. No Mosque can have more then one of these turrets, if not built

[1] See p. 31.

[2] See p. 32 and note 2 on that page. Mr Edwin Pears has since told me that I am mistaken, and that the Golden Gate was *not* that by which the Turks entered Constantinople. A small number entered by the Circus Gate (Kerkoporta) adjoining Tekfour Serai, North of the Adrianople Gate. The entrance of the great body of the Turks was by the Pempton or San Romano Military Gate in the Lycus Valley. The Golden Gate end of the wall was not even attacked in 1453. Mr Pears further supplies the information that, on the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war in 1877, the Turks destroyed the Kerkoporta to render the prophecy that the Christians should recapture the city by this gate incapable of fulfilment.

[3] See p. 33.

by an Emperor....But that of Sancta Sophia[1], once a Christian Temple...exceedeth not onely the rest, by whose patterne they were framed, but all other fabrickes whatsoever throughout the whole Universe. A long labour it were to describe it exactly.... The roofe compact, and adorned with Mosaike painting: an antique kind of worke, composed of litle square peeces of marble; gilded and coloured...which set together, as if imbossed, present an unexpressable stateliness, and are of a marvellous durance.... Evagrius, that lived a thousand yeares since, affirmeth this Temple to have bene from East unto West, two hundred threescore feete long, and in height one hundred and fourescore: and Antonius Menavinus, that in the dayes of Bajazet it contained at once sixe and thirtie thousand Turkes. Perhaps the ancient fabricke then standing entire; whereof this now remaining was little more then the Chancell. Better to be beleeved then Belonius, a moderne eye-witnesse, who reports that the doores thereof are in number equall to the daies of the yeare; whereas if it hath five, it hath more by one, then by me was discerned....The inferiour [Mosques] are built for the most part square: many pent-housd with open galleries, where they accustome to pray at times extraordinary: there being in all (comprehending Pera, Scutari, and the buildings that border the Bosphorus), about the number of eight thousand.

But this of Sophia is almost every other Friday frequented by the Sultan, being neare unto the fore-front of his Serraglio, which posseseth the extremest point of the North-east angle, where formerly stood the ancient Byzantium: devided from the rest of the Citie by a loftie wall, containing three miles in circuite, and comprehending goodly groves of Cypresses intermixed with plaines, delicate gardens, artificiall fountaines, all varietie of fruite-trees, and what not rare....On the North side stands the sultans Cabinet, in forme of a sumptuous Sommer-house, having a private passage made for the time, of waxed linnen, from his Serraglio: where he often solaceth himselfe with the various objects of the haven: and from thence takes barge to passe unto the delightfull places of the adjoyning Asia....

We omit to speake of great mens Serraglios...Besestanes[2]... markets of men and women[3], &c....convertting our discourse to

[1] See p. 35. [2] See p. 37. [3] See p. 34.

those few remainders of many antiquities, whereof the Aquaduct made by the Emperor Valentinian, and retaining his name, doth principally challenge remembrance. This hath his heads neare the Black Sea, not far from a village called Domuz-dere, of the abundance of wilde hogs thereabouts, the place being wooddy and mountainous, where many springs are gathered together, and at sundry places do joyntly fall into great round cesternes, from thence conveyed to conjoyne with others (among which, as supposed, is the brooke Cydarius), led sometimes under the earth, now along the levell, then uppon mighty arches over profound vallies, from hill to hill, for the space wel-nigh of thirtie miles, untill arriving at the Citie, and surmounting the same, it falleth at length as from an headlong cataract into an ample cesterne, supported with neare two hundred pillars of marble, and is from thence by conduits conducted unto their publike uses. This was repaired by Solyman the Great, great grandfather to this now reigning Achmet whose wishes and endeavours are said to have aimed at three things, which were, the reedifying of Ponte Piccolo and Ponte Grande[1] (which crosse two armes of the sea) and the restoring of the Aquæduct, these he accomplished: but the third, which was the expugnation of Vienna, he could never accomplish. Not far from the Temple of Sancta Sophia, there is a spacious place surrounded with buildings, like to that of Smithfield, and anciently called the Hippodrom, for that there they exhibited their horse-races, *The swift hoofe beates the dustie Hippodrom*, as now Atmaidan[2] by the Turkes, a word of like signification....In this place there standeth a stately Hierogliphicall obelisk of Theban marble[3]....A little removed there standeth a Columne of wreathed brasse with three infolded serpents at the top, extended in a triangle, and looking severall ways[4]. And beyond both these, another high Obelisk, termed by some

[1] See p. 45 f. [2] See p. 32.

[3] See note 2 on p. 33, where the obelisk is erroneously said to have been set up by Constantine. It was set up by Theodosius. The mistake was discovered too late for correction.

[4] See note 1 on p. 33. Mr Edwin Pears has supplied the following additional information about this column:—No one now doubts that this monument came from Delphi. The names of the states that took part in the battle of Platæa (B.C. 479) which were cut upon the coils of the Serpents are not visible, but rubbings with heel-ball exist which bring them out clearly and as stated by Herodotus. The upper half of one of the heads (upon which one of the legs of the tripod stood) is now in the Stamboul Museum.

Colossus, built of sundry stones, now greatly ruinated, covered heretofore with plates of gilded brasse, whose basis do yet retaine this inscription. ... And in Auratbasar (that is, the market of weomen[1]) there is an historicall Columne to be ascended within, farre surpassing both Trajans and that of Antoninus which I have seene in Rome: the workman having so proportioned the figures that the highest and lowest appeare of one bignesse[2].

And right against the mansion of the German Emperours Ambassadour (who only is suffered to lodge within the Citie), stands the Columne of Constantine[3].

These are all the remaines that are left (or all that are by the Christians to bee seene) besides the relikes of the Pallace of Constantine[4], now made a stable for wilde beasts, of so many goodly buildings, and from all parts congested antiquities, wherewith this soveraigne Citie was in times past so adorned: and with them are their memories perished. For not a Greeke can satisfie the Inquirer in the history of their owne calamities. ... But to say something of Constantinople in generall: I thinke there is not in the world an object that promiseth soe much a farre off to the beholders, and entred, so deceiveth the expectation. ...

Now speake we of the Haven...so conveniently profound, that the greatest shipps may lay their sides to the sides therof, for the more easie receit and discharge of their burthen[5]. ...

On the other side of the haven (continually crossed by multitudes of little boates, called Permagees[6], and rowed for the most part by Ægyptians) stands the Cittie of Galata...surpassing Constantinople in her loftie buildings, built by the Genoasi. ... At the West end therof, the Grand Signiors Gallies have a dry station, and at the East end right against the point of his

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[1] Mr Edwin Pears tells me that female slaves continued to be sold in Avret Bazar until about 1830. See note 1 on p. 34.

[2] See note 2 on p. 34. Mr Edwin Pears remarks that Bondelmonti gives a wonderful series of sketches, showing all that was sculptured on this Column of Arcadius.

[3] *i.e.* the Burnt Column. See p. 34 f. Mr Edwin Pears says that it was erected by Constantine the Great and that beneath it is a chamber containing the Palladium brought from Rome, and a portion of the Holy Cross.

[4] See p. 37.

[5] See p. 37 f.

[6] See p. 38.

Serraglio, called Tophana and Fundacle, lies a number of great Ordnance unplanted, most of them the spoile of Christian Cities and fortresses, as may appeare by their inscriptions and Impreses: and many of them of an incredible greatnesse[1].

Now right against the mouth of the haven on the other side of the Bosphorus, stands Scutari, a towne in Bythinia....Before it on a little rocke, a good way off from the shore, a Tower is erected, called the Maiden tower...having in it twenty peeces of Ordnance. And although the Sea be so deepe betweene it and the shore that a ship may saile through, yet is it served with fresh water, some say brought thither by art, I rather think from a naturall fountain.

The Black Sea is distant some fifteene miles from Constantinople[2], so named of his blacke effects....This sea is lesse salt then others, and much annoyed with ice in the winter....Where it runneth into the Bosphorus there are two rocks, that formerly bare the names Cyaneæ and Sympligades....Here upon the top of a rocke, supposed by some to be one of these and yet too farre removed from a fellow to be so, stands a pillar of white marble, called vulgarly the pillar of Pompey[3]....Upon the shore there is a high Lanterne, large enough at the top to containe above threescore persons, which by night directeth the sailer into the entrance of the Bosphorus.

The Bosphorus setteth with a strong current into Propontis, and is in length about twentie miles: where broadest a mile, and in two places but half a mile over....One of those streights lies before Constantinople, the other five miles above and a halfe, where on Europe side there standeth a castle formerly Damalis, and now the Blacke Tower.

The Hellespont...divideth Europe from Asia[4], in sundry places not a mile broad, in length about forty....Three Leagues above the entrance, and at the narrowest of this straight, stand Sestos and Abydos[5], opposite to each other....Abydos stands in Asia....Sestos stands in Europe....Abydos is seated upon a low level: and Sestos on the side of a Mountain, yet descending to

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[1] See p. 39.
[2] See p. 20 f.
[3] See pp. 20 and 191.
[4] See p. 20.
[5] See p. 157 and note.

the Sea: both bordering the same with their castles, whereof the former is four-square, the other triangular[1]....

The Propontick Sea[2]...is a hundred and fifty Furlongs in length, and about of like latitude.

Constantinople is said to containe seaven hundred thousand persons, halfe of them Turkes, and the other halfe Jewes and Christians, and those for the generall Grecians....

This Sultan...is, in the year 1619 about the age of three and twenty...his Virgins of whom there seldom are so few as five hundred, kept in a Serraglio by themselves, and attended on onely by women and Eunuchs.

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[1] This and the succeeding paragraph precede the description of Constantinople in Sandys' work.

[2] *i.e.*, the Sea of Marmora.

APPENDIX F.

EXTRACTS[1] FROM DES HAYES'[2] VOIAGE DE LEVANT[3], TO WHICH IS ADDED AN EXTRACT FROM BARGRAVE'S VOYAGES AND JOURNEYS (*RAWL. MS.* C. 799).

1. *Voiage de Levant Fait par le Commandement du Roy en l'année 1621 par Le Sr. D. C. Troiseme edition. A Paris Chez Adrien Taupinart. Rue St. Jacques à la Sphere* 1645.

Belgrade[4], que ceux de Hongrie appellent Albe Greque se nommoit anciennement Taurunum. De toutes les villes qui sont aujourd'huy en l'obeissance du grand Seigneur, il n'y en a point apres Constantinople qui soit si advantagée de la nature: Elle est située aux confins de Servie, sur la pante d'une colline à l'endroit

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[1] The extracts from the *Voiage de Levant* comprise the journey from Belgrade to Constantinople. Des Hayes, in 1621, took the same route as Pindar and his train had followed in 1620, but in the opposite direction. See note 6 on p. 45.

[2] Louis Des Hayes, Baron de Courmemin, son of a governor of Montargis, held successively the offices of page, councillor and major-domo to Louis XIII. In 1621, the king sent him on a mission to the Levant. Des Hayes was instructed to obtain the restoration to the Cordeliers of the holy places wrested from them by the Armenians. He was also to establish a Consul at Jerusalem and to make rich votive offerings in the name of the king at the Holy Sepulchre. The mission was successfully accomplished and the envoy returned to France in 1622. In 1624, 1626 and 1629 Des Hayes was sent on missions to Denmark and Sweden, Persia, and Russia. Later, he allied himself with the enemies of Cardinal Richelieu, was arrested in Germany, taken to Languedoc and beheaded at Béziers in 1632.

[3] There were three editions of the *Voiage de Levant* issued respectively in 1624, 1629 and 1645. In his preface, the author states that he wrote the account of his travels at the king's command. Although the work was issued under the initials of Des Hayes, the fact that the ambassador is mentioned throughout the book in the third person has led to the belief that it was the work of some unknown secretary, who accompanied him in all his journeys. The second and third editions are practically identical and contain 495 quarto pages, while the first edition has only 403 quarto pages. The supplemental information, found in the later editions, was added after Des Hayes' second and third voyages to Constantinople.

[4] Des Hayes reached Belgrade on the 9th June, 1621. Mundy arrived there with Pindar's party on the 30th May, 1620.

où la Save[1] se descharge dans le Danube, ce qui rend son assiette admirable. Du costé de la Hongrie, dont ces deux rivieres la separent, elle a de grandes plaines, qui sont tellement fertiles, qu'elles nourriroient dix fois autant de peuple qu'il y en a dans la ville. Le reste de ses environs est rempli de jardinages, qui rend sa demeure tres-delicieuse: elle est au quarante-quatriesme degré et demy de latitude, et au quarante-cinquiesme degré de long. Et encore qu'elle ne soit qu'à deux journees des montagnes d'Esclavonie, l'air y est neantmoins fort temperé, et les saisons y sont tres-agreables.

Cette ville n'est point fermée de murailles, bien qu'elle soit des plus grandes et plus considerables de Levant. De tous les anciens bastimens, il n'en reste presque aucun vestige: et ceux que les Turcs y ont fait depuis qu'ils l'habitent ne respondent pas à la beauté de l'assiette: car ils ne sont bastis que d'ais[2], et n'est toutefois qu'un seul estage: parce que la ville est pratiquée sur la colline, en sorte qu'une maison ne couvre pas l'autre, elles ont toutes une veue tres-agreable. La plupart des Turcs demeurent dans le chasteau, où il n'est pas permis aux Chrestiens de coucher. Il est le long de la Save, entouré de simples murailles, sans aucun rempart; elles ne sont deffendues que de tours carrées, avec un fort petit fossé[3], ils l'estiment imprenable; mais ils ne sont pas capables de juger de la force des places.

Or quoy que la ville de Belgrade soit abondante en toutes sortes de vivres, elle l'est neantmoins particulierement en poisson d'eaue-douce, plus qu'aucune autre ville de l'Europe[4]: car non seulement il y en a tres grande quantite, mais aussi il s'y en trouve de monstreueux, et à si bon prix, que cela n'est pas croyable. Les marchands Ragusois qui y sont, firent present au Sieur des Hayes d'une carpe, qui avoit trois pieds entre œil et bat, laquelle ne leur coustoit que quinze sols. Il y en a de quatre et de cinq pieds, et des brochets qui en ont six: l'on nous asseura mesme que l'on y trouve des barbotes qui ont dix pieds de long. Tous les poissons qui se peschent en ce lieu, sont excellens en bonté, et merveilleusement gras, à cause que la riviere a environ deux pieds de vase sur la sable.

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[1] See p. 73.

[2] Mundy says that the houses at Belgrade were "generally made of boards." See p. 73.

[3] See p. 74.

[4] See p. 73.

L'an mil cinq cent vingt la ville de Belgrade fut prise sur les Chrestiens par Sultan Soliman[1], qui y laissa un Beglerbey: mais leurs conquestes s'estant estenduës dans la Hongrie, ils ont transferé la residence du Beglerbey de Belgrade à Bude, pour estre plus proche de la frontiere, depuis ces deux residences luy sont demeurées, et parce qu'il fait ordinairement son sejour à Bude il tient à Belgrade un Caimacam qui est son Lieutenant[2].

Ceste ville, sans y comprendre le chasteau, est aujourd'huy pour la plus-part habitée de Chrestiens qui suivent la creance de l'Eglise Grecque, lesquels sont en plus grand nombre que les Turcs[2]: et neantmoins il y peut avoir huict cens ames Catholiques, à qui les Sacremens sont administrés par les Religieux de sainct François, qui y sont establis, et par des Peres Jesuistes....

Nous partismes de Belgrade le troisiesme de Juin[3]. En sortant de Belgrade, on costoye presque tousjours durant six heures les agreables rives du Danube, jusques à une petite ville nommée par les Chrestiens Grosca, et par les Turcs Ichargic[4], qui veut dire petit chasteau; Elle est sur le Danube, qui en cest endroit a une grande largeur, encore qu'il ne soit pas tout ensemble: car au dessus de Belgrade, il y a un bras qui s'en separe jusques à la ville de Semendrie, qui est une journée au dessous. Si l'on vouloit suivre le Danube, on pourroit aller jusques à cent lieues pres de Constantinople, mais à cause que la navigation en est dangereuse pour les arbres qui se rencontrent au milieu de son lit, on laisse ordinairement la riviere à Belgrade, pour aller par terre à Constantinople.

Or avant que je quitte les belles rives de ce fleuve, il faut que je die que c'est le plus grand et le plus considerable, non seulement de l'Europe[5], mais aussi de l'Asie, et de l'Afrique. Son cours est de sept cens lieües Françoises. Il reçoit soixante rivieres presques toutes navigables. Et apres avoir arrosé la Suawbe, la Baviere, l'Austriche, la Hongrie, la Servie, la Bulgarie, et la Valaquie, il se descharge par sept bouches dans la mer

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[1] Belgrade was taken by Sultan Suliman in 1526. See note 4 on p. 149.

[2] See p. 75.

[3] Mundy and his party left Belgrade on the 7th June in the previous year. See p. 78.

[4] Mundy calls the place Gratsco. See p. 71.

[5] See note 6 on p. 71; see also p. 149.

Majour que ceux du pais appellent la mer noire: et a cela de particulier, qu'il va contre le cours du Soleil[1]....

Laissants doncques le Danube à main gauche, nous entrasmes dans un pais tout rempli de bois, et à quatre heures de chemin d'Ichargic, nous trouvasmes le bourg de Cola[2], où il y a plus de Turcs que de Chrestiens, d'autant que ce lieu est au milieu des prairies où les Turcs habitent ordinairement, à cause qu'estans presque tous faineants, ils ne vivent que du revenu de leurs troupeaux. De Cola à la Palanque de Hassan Bascha[3], il y a six heures de chemin tousjours dans les bois. Ce bourg est habité moitié de Turcs, et moitié de Grecs, et fut nostre second giste où nous commencasmes à loger dans les Quiervansaras[3].

Ce sont des édifices publics plus longs que larges, bas, environ à la façon des granges de ce pays-cy ou des halles, excepté qu'il[s] sont fermez de murailles. Le milieu du bastiment est une grande place pour mettre les carosses et les chariots, avec les chevaux et les chameaux: et le reste qui regne à l'entour des murailles est relevé de trois pieds ou environ, et large de six. Ce lieu ainsi relevé sert de lict, de table, et de cuisine: car contre les murailles il y a de petites cheminées à huict pieds les unes des autres: de sorte que sans bouger de ce lieu, chacun peut avoir l'œil sur son bagage et sur ses chevaux, qui sont vis à vis des cheminées. Les plus grands Seigneurs de Turquie sont reduits à loger de cette sorte, quand le mauvais temps les empesche de camper: ce qui nous faisoit estonner, car il y a une si grande puanteur à cause des chevaux et des chameaux qui sont pesle-mesle avec les hommes que l'on n'y sçauroit durer. La pluspart des Quiervansaras qui sont de Belgrade à Constantinople, sont fort spacieux: ils ont vingt ou trente cheminées pour la commodité du logement, et il y peut tenir cent cinquante chevaux et vingt carosses. Il y en a qui ont une petite chambre sur la porte, qui ne sert presque point; car d'ordinaire les Turcs ne veulent pas s'esloigner de leur bagages. L'on ne trouve aucune chose en ces Quiervansaras, de façon que si l'on ne porte dequoy se coucher, il faut dormir sur le pavé: mais ceux du pays ne ressentent aucunement ces incommoditez, parce que dans leurs maisons ils ne sont

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[1] See note 1 on p. 150. [2] See p. 71.

[3] Mundy also "lodged in a large Cane" at this place. See p. 71.

gueres mieux accomoder. Ils portent avec eux un tapis sur la croupe de leur cheval, qui leur sert de matelas, et mettent la celle sous leur teste: et au lieu de couverture, ils se servent d'un grand manteau appellé Jamer'ouc, qu'ils portent contre la pluye. Estans arrivez dans ces lieux publics, s'ils veulent manger, ils font du feu pour apprester leur soupe qui consiste en un peu de ris bouilly avec de l'eau, ce qui est un grand festin pour eux, n'en ayant pas tous les jours: car d'ordinaire, ils ne mangent que des aulx et des oignons. Il n'y a aucune separation dans ces Quiervansaras: de sorte qu'un chacun voit tout ce que fait son compagnon, si l'obscurité de la nuict ne le cache[1]. En fin je n'y trouve aucune commodité, si ce n'est qu'ayant dormi à couvert, l'on est exempt de contester le lendemain avec l'hoste. Nous ne logions que le moins qu'ils nous estoit possible dans ces lieux sales et incommodes: car le Sieur des Hayes campoit, avec ses pavillons, lors que le temps le permettoit[2], ou bien il loggeoit chez quelque Chrestien[3], dont nous nous trouvions beaucoup mieux, parce que parmi un si grand nombre de personnes qui sont dans ces Quiervansaras, il y a tousjours tant de bruit, qu'il est impossible de reposer: si bien qu'il arrivoit fort souvent quand nous y logions, que nous n'avions pas encore commencé à dormir qu'il falloit partir, dautant que les Turcs partent d'ordinaire à deux ou trois heures apres minuit, afin d'arriver de bonne heure au giste.

Le lendemain qui fut l'unziesme de Juin, nous allasmes coucher à Yagodna[4], ayant marché douze heures et demie dans des bois semblables à ceux des jours precedens. Nous nous arrestasmes au milieu du chemin pour disner aupres d'un village appelle Baticina[4], qui est habité de Chrestiens.

Yagodna est un grand bourg bien situé, où il y a plus de Turcs que de Chrestiens, à cause que la plus-part des Spahis de Timar, qui sont en la contrée, y demeurent.

Le jour suivant, à deux heures de Yagodna, nous trouvasmes la riviere de Morava[5], qui venant des hautes montagnes de

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[1] See Mundy's description of a "Cane" on p. 52 f.

[2] Pindar and his train also camped in the open ground when possible. See pp. 46, 47, 48, 49, 52, etc.

[3] See pp. 54 and 60. [4] See p. 70.

[5] This is Mundy's "bigg river without a Bridge." See p. 70.

Bulgarie, passe par le milieu de la Servie, et se va descharger dans le Danube. Elle est environ de la grandeur de la Marne, mais beaucoup plus rapide: nous demeurasmes fort long-temps à faire passer nostre bagage[1], parce que de fortune il s'y rencontra un grand embaras de chariots, et qu'avec cela les basteliers y sont tres maladroits: de sorte que cependant nous fusmes contraints de nous arrester à un village nommé Paraquin[2], qui est proche de la riviere, et qui est presque tout habité de Turcs. Entre Paraquin et Razena[3], où nous allasmes coucher, l'on voit les vestiges d'un ancien chemin avec plusieurs inscriptions, mais tellement effacées que l'on n'en peut rien recognoistre, sinon que ce sont des caracteres Latins. Nous ne peusmes faire ce jour-là que neuf heures de chemin, à cause du temps que nous perdismes au passage de la riviere.

Le lendemain nous marchasmes unze heures dans les bois[4]: et apres avoir passé à gué la petite riviere du Banaraica, où nous dinasmes au milieu d'une prairie, nous arrivasmes à Nice, qui est une petite ville[5], où demeurent tous les Spahis de Timar, qui sont aux environs: outre lesquels y a des Janissaires et des Spahis de la porte, qui y sont en garnison, tant pour la seureté des chemins, que pour tenir en subjection dix mille Chrestiens qui sont à deux lieues à la ronde de cette ville[6]: on y voit de grandes ruines[5], qui tesmoignent qu'elle a esté en plus grande consideration parmi les Chrestiens, qu'elle n'est maintenant parmy eux. La riviere de Nice, appellée par ceux du pais Nicava[5], qui vient des montagnes voisines de Bulgarie, passe aupres de la ville, dont elle emprunte le nom, et se va descharger à deux heures au dessous dans la riviere de Morava: nous aprismes de ceux du lieu qu'elle separe la Servie de la Bulgarie: Nice est encore au gouvernement de Bude, mais passe la riviere, l'on entre dans celuy de Grece....Le païs est diversifié en collines et vallons, qui sont presque tous remplis de bois, bien qu'ils soient assez fertiles; mais les habitants

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[1] Pindar's party had the same experience. See p. 70.

[2] *i.e.* Paratjin or Barachin Palanka. See p. 70.

[3] Mundy calls this place Roshneah. See p. 70.

[4] Mundy describes the road between Nice and Rashan as "faire and plaine, although desert and full of woods." See p. 70.

[5] See p. 69. [6] See p. 68.

n'ont pas le courage de travailler, parce que les Turcs leur ravissent tout ce qu'ils ont[1].

La Serve est presque toute habitée de Chrestiens qui suivent l'Eglise Grecque, n'ayant des Turcs qu'aux bourgs et aux villages qui sont sur le grand chemin, où ils se retirent volontiers[1]. Il y a encores environ cinq mille Catholiques Romains qui vivent confusément parmy les autres Chrestiens: mais ils sont tous si pauvres et si miserables, que la pluspart de leurs maisons ne sont que comme gabions couverts qu'ils transportent d'un lieu à autre, pour éviter la tyrannie de ces infidelles: Et neantmoins il y fait fort bon vivre, car les volailles n'y coutent que dix-huict deniers, et les moutons quinze sols, mais pour le pain et le vin, il en faut faire provision aux villes et bourgs, pource qu'il ne s'en trouve pas de bon aux villages.

Le jour suivant, qui fut le vingtieme de Juin, nous partismes de Nice: et parce qu'il faut passer de fascheuses et dangereuses montagnes, celuy qui commandoit à Nice nous donna vingt Turcs à cheval pour nous accompagner[2]. En sortant de Nice, l'on entre dans une plaine marescageuse, qui est environnée de montagnes[3], en laquelle il croist abondance de ris rouge, qui n'est pas du tout si bon que le blanc. A la sortie de cette plaine, nous montasmes une montagne assez difficile pour les carosses: et apres avoir marché neuf heures nous arrivasmes en un village appellé la Pallanque de Mehemet Bascha[4]....Nous allasmes encore coucher a Cruchismet, qui est a une heure du chemin au de-là: ce village est tout habité de Chrestiens[5]. Les mauvais traittemens qu'ils reçoivent des Turcs sont cause qu'il y en a plusieurs qui s'assemblent pour voler sur le grand chemin[1]: c'est pourquoy en la plus-part des villages de Servie et de Bulgarie, il y a un lieu enfermé de palissades, revestuës de torches, qu'ils appellent Pallanques[6], ou les habitans se retirent quand ils ont advis que

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[1] See p. 67 f.

[2] Pindar was also provided with a guard between Nice and Palanca. See p. 69.

[3] See Mundy's description of this district on p. 69.

[4] See p. 68, where Mundy calls the place simply Palanca.

[5] The village was abandoned when Mundy passed through it in 1670. See p. 67.

[6] See Mundy's description of a Palanca on p. 68.

ces voleurs tiennent la campagne, qui sont aucunefois trois cents de compagnie afin de resister aux Turcs qui les pourroient attaquer: car quand ils sont pris, on les empalle sur le grand chemin[1], sans autre forme de proces....

Le lendemain vingt et uniesme, nous descendismes la montagne couverte de bois, que nous avions monté le jour auparavant, au bas de la quelle est une grande plaine tres-fertile, qui porte le nom d'un bourg appellé Pirot en Esclavon, et en Turc Cherquioi[2], où nous disnasmes dans une prairie le long d'un ruisseau: apres ayant marché en toute la journée treze heures et demie, nous arrivasmes en un village habité de Chrestiens, nommé Dragoman[3]. Les cochers qui nous conduisoient s'esgarerent, et au lieu de nous mener droit à Dragoman prindrent le chemin d'un petit village de Chrestiens[4], qui nous voyant arriver, commencerent à se retirer au haut des montagnes, emportant ce qu'ils avoient de meilleur: de sorte qu'ils n'y eut jamais moyen d'en faire revenir pas un, pource qu'ils croyoient que nous fussions des Officiers du grand Seigneur, qui ne les vont voir que pour les mal traiter[5]. Le jour suivant, vingt-deuxiesme de Juin, nous arrivasmes à Sophie, ayant marché huict heures le long d'une plaine encore plus fertile que la precedente, mais beaucoup plus desagreable, parce qu'elle n'est environnée que de roches[6]. Elle a quatorze heures de long et quatorze de large. C'est l'endroict de la Bulgarie le plus peuplé, car l'on y conte trois cens soixante villages, tous habitez de Chrestiens....Cette province est beaucoup plus montueuse et plus fertile que la Servie: mais elle n'est pas si agreable ni si diversifiée. Les montagnes sont tellement hautes que la plus-part sont couvertes de neges neuf mois de l'année. Elles enferment comme j'ay déja dit, plusieurs grandes plaines qui sont fort fertiles et abondantes. Il y fait encores meilleur vivre qu'en Servie: et neantmoins il n'y a lieu en toute la Turquie où l'on mange de si mauvais pain, car il n'est cuit que dessous les cendres[7], et est

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[1] See p. 71 for an instance of the staking of a highway robber.

[2] See p. 66.

[3] Mundy's halting-place between Sophia and Sharkoi was Zaribrod.

[4] Possibly this was Mundy's "Zarebrode, a little village." See p. 66.

[5] See p. 67.

[6] See Mundy's remarks on these "Rockie Hills" on p. 66.

[7] See p. 77 and Bargrave's remarks at the end of this Appendix.

si mal pestri, que l'on est quelques jours avant de s'y pouvoir accoustumer.

La langue vulgaire du pais est l'Esclavone[1], qui est encore entenduë en plusieurs endroits de la Romanie. Ceste Province est l'une des plus habitées de Chrestiens qui soient en Turquie, outre ceux qui suivent l'Eglise Grecque dont il y a trente fois autant que de Turcs: il y peut avoir quinze mille Catholiques Romains sujets a l'Evesque de Ciproa, ils habitent en cette partie de Bulgarie, qui est près du Danube. On peut juger aisément que lors que ce pais estoit libre, les habitans estoient fort somptueux en habits: car encores aujourd'huy quoy que les Turcs ne leur laissent rien, les femmes sont proprement vestues. Elles pendent à l'entour de leurs testes indifferemment toutes les pieces, tant d'argent que de cuivre qu'elles peuvent trouver[2]: de sorte que celles qui en ont le plus sont estimées les plus braves: Elles entrelassent aussi leurs cheveux avec un tel artifice, qu'on a bien de la peine à recognoistre la tissure de l'ouvrage: ils leur vont par derriere jusques à la ceinture, et n'y touchent jamais depuis qu'elles les ont ainsi agencez[3]. Leurs Chemises sont brodées à l'entour des fentes de fil de diverses couleurs[4]. Et comme elles voyoient les nostres, elles s'estonnoient de nostre modestie, et dequoy nous ne les enrichissions point avec ce meslange de couleurs....

La ville de Sophie, capitalle de la Bulgarie, est située dans cette grande plaine descrite cy-dessus[5], environ une demie-heure de chemin de la plus haute montagne. Quelques-uns ont estimé que c'est la Tibisque de Ptolomée: mais nous apprismes de ceux de la ville qu'à une portée de mousquet, vers le Sud-oest, ou le Beche, on voit l'endroit où estoit autre fois la ville de Sardique. Elle est selon l'opinion plus vrayesemblable au quarante-troisiesme degré et demy de latitude et au quarante-neuf de longitude: mais les hautes montagnes qu'elle a au Midy sont cause que l'Hyver y dure plus que l'Esté, et qu'il y pleut fort souvent. Elle n'est point

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[1] Mundy says of the Bulgarians, "Theire Language neither Turkish nor Greeke, but like the Russian." See p. 78. See also Bargrave's comments at the end of this Appendix.

[2] See p. 76 and Bargrave's remarks at the end of this Appendix.

[3] See p. 76.

[4] See p. 77 and Bargrave's remarks at the end of this Appendix.

[5] See *ante*, p. 206, and p. 63.

ferméede murailles, et n'est arosée que d'un grand ruisseau qu passe par dedans les rues, les plus marchandes sont couvertes, e la plus-part des maisons sont esloignées les unes des autres, estan presque toutes accompagnées de Jardins, ce qui fait que la ville s montre fort grande. La Mosquée principale qui est tres-bell servoit autrefois d'Eglise aux Chrestiens sous le nom de sainct Sophie, c'est à dire la Sapience divine, et quelques-uns croient qu cette Eglise ait donné le nom de Sophie à la ville, qui auparavan s'appelloit Sardique.

Hors cette Mosquée elle n'a rien de considerable; car elle es encore plus mal bastie que les autres villes de Turquie, et l demeure en est si mal-saine, a cause des marecages qui l'environ nent du costé du Septemtrion, qu'elle ne se fust pas conservé comme elle est, n'estoit que le Beglerbey de la Grece y fait s residence[1]....Or dautant que cette ville est le siege du gouverneu de la Grece, il ne sera point hors de propos de dire que l gouvernement de la Grece, que les Turcs appellent Romeli[2] Beg lerbeilic, est le plus honnorable et le premier de toute la Turquie tant pource que le grand Seigneur tient le siege de son Empire Constantinople, qui est dans son estendue, que pour le grand nombre de Provinces qui lui sont sujettes. Car ce Beglerbey commande à la Romanie, à la Bulgarie, à la Macedoine, à l'Albanie à l'Epire, à l'Acaye: et à la Moree: il y a vingt Sangiacheis sous lui, qui sont gouverneurs particuliers de Provinces, et commanden à trente trois mille soldats entretenus qui sont sous sa charge.

Nous partismes de Sophie le vingt-quatriesme de Juin, et con tinuasmes nostre chemin par le mesme grande plaine....A trois heures de Sophie nous passames sur un pont de bois la petite riviere d'Iscar qui prend sa source au pied du mont Rodope. Et apres avoir fait encore environ quatre heures de chemin, nous sortismes de cette grande plaine et entrasmes dans des collines, où ayant marché quatre bonnes heures et rencontré plusieurs villages nous arrivasmes a Ictiman[3]: en ce bourg il y a plusieurs Turcs encore que tous les villages circonvoisins soient habitez de Chrestiens, les Turcs de toute la Province se retirans volontiers à Sophie, à Cerquioy ou à Ictiman.

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[1] See p. 63.
[2] See p. 62 and note.
[3] See p. 61.

En quittant la plaine de Sophie nous commençasmes à descouvrir à main droicte le sommet du mont Rodope[1] qui estoit encore couvert de neiges. Cette montagne, à ce que l'œil en peut juger, n'est qu'une branche du mont Hœmus, dont elle ne differe qu'en ce qu'elle est beaucoup plus haute. C'est le lieu où l'antiquité veut qu'Orphée ayt fait entendre autrefois la douceur de sa harpe dont la memoire s'est perpetuée jusques en ce siecle, car il y a sept fontaines sur le plus haut de la montagne que ceux du pais appellent encores aujourd'huy les sept fontaines d'Orphée, estimans que les larmes qu'il respandit apres avoir perdu pour la seconde fois sa femme Euridice donnerent commencement à ces sources[2]...

Le vendredi vingt-cinquiesme le Sieur des Hayes prit quelques Turcs pour nous accompagner, en passant la montagne qui est assez fascheuse, pour les carosses principalement, aupres d'un grand village de Chrestiens qu'ils appellent Capigi Dervent[3], c'est à dire portier de la montagne ; apres avoir emploié sept heures à monter et à descendre, nous arrivasmes en un grand village nommé par les Turcs Jancoli, et par les habitans Novocelo[4], qui est le premier de la Romanie, comme Capigi est le dernier de Bulgarie: et aiant encore marché quatre heures le long de la riviere de Marissa, nous trouvasmes un grand bourg nommé Basargic[5], où il y a un fort beau Quiervansara basti par Hibraim Bascha.

Cette montagne qui separe la Bulgarie de la Romanie, est appellée par les Italiens la Chaisne du monde, et par les Turcs Dervent, qui est le nom de toutes les montagnes covertes de bois, comme Balkan est celuy des rochers tout nuds : c'est celle que les anciens ont cogneuë sous le nom d'Hœmus. Ces passages sont grandement perilleux; aussi ceux qui commandent pour le grand Seigneur dans toute ces Provinces y mettent si bon ordre, qu'aux advenuës des montagnes il y a des hommes, qui avec des tambours advertissent les passants de prendre garde à eux quand il y a nouvelles de voleurs[6], mesmes aux endroits plus dangereux il y a des soldats destinez pour accompagner ceux qui passent, sans qu'ils soient obligez à leur rien donner[7].

[1] See note 9 on p. 61 ; see also p. 152.
[2] See p. 152.
[3] The "Cappeekeoy" of Mundy. See p. 61.
[4] See p. 60 f. and note 5 on p. 60.
[5] Tatar Bazarjik. See p. 60.
[6] See p. 61 f.
[7] See p. 66.

Le Samedi vingt-sixiesme, apres avoir marché six heures dans une plaine, ayant tousjours la riviere de Marissa à main droite nous arrivasmes à Phillippopoli, que les Turcs appellent Philiba[1]. Il y a le long du chemin plusieurs butes de terre, qu'ils estiment estre les sepultures de quelques-uns de leurs ennemis, que leurs ancestres ont défaits en ceste plaine[2].

La ville de Philippopoli est dans la Romanie, située sur le bord de la riviere de Marissa, au pied de quelques collines qui sont destachées des montagnes[3]. Elle n'est point fermée de murailles: la riviere la borne du coste du Septemtrion, et ces collines enferment quasi tout le reste: aussi ne la sçavroit-on rendre forte, estant comandée de tous costez. Son nom tesmoigne qu'elle a esté bastie par Philippe de Macedonie, pere d'Alexandre: mais elle est tellement changée, qu'il n'y reste plus aucune marque de son fondateur...

Le jour suivant, qui fut le vingt-septiesme de Juin, ayant marché neuf heures dans une plaine assez fertile, comme le sont toutes celles de la Romanie, nous arrivasmes à Cayali[4], qui est un grand village tout habité de Chrestiens qui se servent encore de la langue Esclavone.

Le Lundy vingt-huictiesme, nous allasmes coucher à Hermanli[5], qui est à dix heures de chemin de Cayali: c'est un bourg où il y a quelques Turcs, aupres duquel est un grand village habité de Chrestiens.

Le Mardy vingt-neufiesme de Juin, nous repassasmes la riviere de Marissa, sur un petit pont de pierre, basty par Mustapha Bascha[6]: et apres avoir marché l'espace de dix heures dans un pais plain, presque tousjours sur le bord de la mesme riviere, nous arrivasmes à Andrinople....

Au reste, ceux qui voyagent par la Turquie tirent de grands advantages de la charité des Turcs...la plupart de ceux qui sont riches taschent à reparer le mal qu'ils commettent durant leur vie, en faisant des fondations sur les grands chemins, pour la commodité publique....Pour l'ordinaire ils font bastir des Mosquées....

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[1] See p. 54 f. [2] See p. 154. [3] See p. 55.
[4] The "Cayalucke" of Mundy. See p. 54.
[5] See p. 52.
[6] See p. 51 f. for the bridge and its story.

Les autres bastissent des Quiervansaras[1], avec des hopitaux, où les passans, de quelque Religion qu'ils soient, peuvent estre nouris trois jours durant. Il y en a plusieurs sur le chemin de Belgrade à Constantinople, où quand nous y logions on nous apportait à chacun une portion. Ceux qui n'ont pas moyen de faire une si grande despense, font venir de l'eau sur le grand chemin, ou font bastir des ponts[2] pour le commodité de ceux qui passent.

La ville d'Andrinople avant que d'estre augmentée, et comme rebastie par l'Empereur Hadrian (qui luy donna son nom) s'appelloit Oreste[3]. Elle est assise sur le haut et sur la pante d'une colline, à l'endroit où la riviere de Tunze et celle de Harde perdent leur nom dans celle de Marissa[4]....

Le sejour qu'ils [les Othomans] y ont fait a esté cause que la ville s'est beaucoup accreuë au de-là de l'enceinte de l'Empereur Hadrian, que l'on voit encores aujourd'huy, et qui se trouve en quelques endroits au milieu de la ville. Les bastiments particuliers sont assez beaux pour le pais. Quand aux edifices publics, il y a un Besestan tout voûté qui est tres-beau, c'est comme une halle où l'on vend des estoffes: le lieu où les Cordonniers tiennent leurs boutiques est aussi tout voûté, et fort bien basti. Il y a cela de particulier en toutes les villes de Turquie, que tous les artisans d'un mesme mestier demeurent en mesme endroit. Au plus haut de la ville est une superbe Mosquée, que Sultan Soliman a fait bastir. Si l'on veut adjouster à cela le Serrail[4], qui est en une assiete tres-agreable, et un beau pont de pierre, qui a six arches[4]: on ne trouvera point de ville en Turquie apres Constantinople où il y ait de plus beaux edifices publics....

La ville d'Andrinople est encore sous le Beglerbey, ou Gouverneur de la Grece, que les Turcs appellent Romeli Beglerbey[5]:... Il y a pour la garde de la ville quelques Janissaires et quelques Spahis[6], qui obeissent seulement à leurs Chefs, et ne recognoissent au surplus que leur Aga, qui est aupres de la personne du grand Seigneur....

Apres avoir demeuré un jour entier à Andrinople, nous en partismes le Jeudy, premier jour de juillet, sur les dix heures: et pour regler nos journées, nous ne marchasmes que quatre heures

[1] See p. 52 f. [2] See p. 52. [3] See p. 155.
[4] See p. 49. [5] See p. 62.
[6] See p. 67 and note.

jusques à Absa[1], où nous couchasmes : c'est un petit bourg habité de Turcs, où il y a neantmoins une belle Mosquée, et un grand Quiervansara, couvert de plomb, qu'un des principaux Tresoriers du pais a fait bastir pour l'expiation de ses fautes. La chaleur nous contraignit à changer l'ordre de notre voyage, et à nous servir de la nuit au lieu du jour, ce que les Turcs font ordinairement ; mais davantage en Asie et en Afrique, où les chaleurs sont plus grandes.

Nous partismes d'Absa un peu devant minuit et apres avoir marché jusques au Soleil Levant, nous fismes repaistre nos chevaux dans un pré qui se rencontra, usants de la liberté publique : car en tous les Estats du Turc, l'on trouve ainsi le long des chemins de grandes prairies où les Chrestiens aussi bien que les Turcs peuvent faire repaistre leurs chevaux sans rien païer. Apres avoir demeuré là quelque temps, nous allasmes disner a un village nommé Babaesqui[2], et de-là coucher à Bergase[2] ayant marché unze heures en tout. Il y a encores en ce bourg une fort belle Mosquée, et un grand Quiervansara, que Mustapha Bascha a fait bastir, et où il a laissé tant de revenu, que tous les passans y sont nourris un jour entier pour l'honneur de Dieu ; bien que nous fussions defraiez aux despens du grand Seigneur, on ne laissa pas pourtant de nous apporter à chacun un pain, du ris, et du mouton....

Nous partismes de Bergase environ à unze heures du soir : apres avoir marché dix heures, et fait repaistre nos chevaux dans les prairies, nous arrivasmes à un bourg nommé Chiourli[3], où Selim perdit la bataille qu'il donna contre son Pere Bajazet. On voit en ce lieu tant de tortuës, que la terre en est presque toute couverte à cause que les Grecs ni les Turcs n'en mangent point....

Nous partismes de Chiourli à six heures du matin le quatriesme de Juillet. Ayant cheminé quatre heures, nous rencontrasmes les vestiges d'un canal et d'une muraille....Trois heures apres, nous arrivasmes à Selivrée[3], qui est sur le rivage de la mer de Marmora. Tout le païs qui est depuis Andrinople, jusques à la mer est fort desagreable : on ne trouve que de grandes plaines sans arbres qui ennuyent infiniment[4].

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[1] See p. 49. [2] See p. 48. [3] See p. 47.

[4] Mundy says (see p. 60), "From Constantinople unto Adrianople is a plaine Champion Countrie without either Tree or bush excepting att Townes or Villages."

Selivrée autrefois appellée Selimbria, est une petite ville presque entierement ruinée : c'est pourquoi les Turcs y ont encore laissé les Grecs. Il y a une Eglise fort ancienne qui est assise en si beau lieu, que de-là on descouvre tous les vaisseaux et toutes les galleres qui vont de Constantinople en l'Archipelague....Au dessous de Selivrée il y a un grand bourg habité de Turcs, qui vaut beaucoup mieux que la ville, bien qu'il ne s'entretienne qu'à cause qu'il est sur le grand chemin; car il n'y a point de port pour les vaisseaux, et consequemment point de trafic....

De Selivrée nous costoyasmes la mer de Marmora l'espace de trois heures, et arrivasmes au bourg de Bioucchekmege qui prend son nom du grand pont de bois[1], qui est sur un destroit par où la mer s'engolphe, et fait un grand estang salé. Nous trouvasmes le long de ce rivage l'air beaucoup plus doux, et le pays bien plus fertile et plus agreable que dans les plaines de Thrace. Apres avoir disné en ce village, nous marchasmes encores le long de la mer l'espace de trois heures, et arrivasmes au bourg de Couchiouc Chekmege[2], qui prend aussi son nom d'un petit pont, qui est sur un destroit moindre que le premier, où la mer fait un autre estang salé, lequel s'unit avec le precedent. L'on y pesche une tres-grande quantité de poisson, et les rivages y sont embellis de plusieurs maisons de plaisance, à la mode du pays, où les Turcs vont prendre l'air.

Il y a dans ce bourg un petit Quiervansara, mais fort beau[3], avec des fontaines pour la commodité de ceux qui y logent: ce qui est presque ordinaire en tous les autres ; car les Turcs croyent de ne pouvoir faire oraison qui soit agreable à Dieu, qu'auparavant ils ne se soient lavez, et particulierement les parties de leurs corps avec lesquelles ils ont offensé ; c'est pourquoy tous ceux qui fondent des Quiervansaras y font conduire de l'eau, afin de donner moyen aux passants d'y faire leurs prieres, et d'y louer Dieu.

Le Quiervansara du petit pont est le plus commode que nous ayons rencontré, parce qu'il y a des chambres, et que les chevaux ne sont pas peslemesle avec les hommes comme aux autres. Il est un peu relevé, ce qui faict que la veuë y est fort agreable, car l'on descouvre tous les vaisseaux et toutes les barques qui vont à

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[1] The Ponto Grande of Mundy. See p. 46.

[2] The "Ponto Piccolo" of Mundy. See p. 45f.

[3] Mundy calls it "a good stone Cane." See p. 46.

Constantinople, ou qui de là viennent en l'Archipelague. Les Ambassadeurs demeurent ordinairement en ce lieu, jusques à ce que les Officiers du grand Seigneur soient advertis pour les recevoir; car ce n'est pas la coustume de loger chez des particuliers, mesmes les plus grands Seigneurs du païs campent avec leurs tentes, ou bien logent dans ces Quiervansaras....

Le jour suivant, sixiesme de Juillet, apres avoir marché cinq heures dans des plaines descouvertes, nous arrivasmes à l'une des portes de Constantinople, que l'on appelle la porte d'Andrinople[1] et dautant que pour aller à Pera où est le logis du Roy et la demeure des Ambassadeurs[2], il faut passer au milieu de la ville, et traverser le port dans une barque, ce qui nous eust esté fort incommode, à cause de nostre esquipage, nous trousvasmes plus à propos de faire le tour de la ville et celuy du port, encores que le chemin fut un peu plus long.

Ainsi nous employasmes vingt journees à venir de Belgrade à Constantinople[3], ayant marché en tout, cent soixante et dix-sept heures: mais parce que ce païs est plain et uny, excepté en quelques endroits de Bulgarie, et que les carosses y roulent bien, nous fismes plus d'une lieue par heure: de sorte que j'estime que de Belgrade à Constantinople il y ait environ deux cents lieues de France, et de Paris à Constantinople sept cens que nous fismes en deux mois et vingt-trois jours[4], apres lesquels nous arrivasmes à Pera, qui est l'un des faux-bourgs de Constantinople[5]....

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[1] See pp. 27 and 187. [2] See pp. 41 and 190 f.

[3] Pindar's party occupied twenty-four days in the same journey, *viz.* from the 6th to the 30th of May, 1620.

[4] Pindar's party accomplished the same distance in the opposite direction in four months all but two days. Pindar travelled *viâ* Venice and Northern Italy, while Des Hayes took the route *viâ* Strasburg and Vienna.

[5] See note on p. 190.

2. *A Narration of the Journey from Constantinople to Dunkirke overland*[1] *made by Mr. James Modyford, Mr. Richard Nevett and mee Robert Bargrave*[2].

By the Guidance of Allmighty God we sett out from Galata of Constantinople on the 9th Day of Septr. Anno 1652 mounted on admirable horses...as also a wagon to carrie our Luggage, which we hird for 100 Lyon dollers (or £22 sterling) to go about 800 miles (to Leopolis in Poland)...we dind at Papas-cue...and went thence the remainder of six howers Journey to Ponte Piccolo[3], where is only remarkable a faire Bridge and a large Lake....

Septr. the 10th. We took in our way Ponte Grande[4], a Towne so named from a large and no less stately Stone Bridge, about a quarter of a mile in length over a Lake as is the Former; and passed onn to Celebrea[5] an auntient City full of ruinous old Christian buildings, Pillars and Inscriptions; but such as I could neither gather ought from my selfe, nor be enform'd of by Others: time having worne out all memorable markes of Antiquity both here and throughout the Country from the knowledge of the Stupid Inhabitants whose Minds, as much enslav'd as their bodies are otherwise employed then about such Curiosities: This days travell was about ten howres over high Land very fertile, affording store of Caccia and a curious prospect of Palaces, of Plaines of Fountaines and of the Seae.

Septr. the 11th. We came about seven howers travell to a Towne called Chourlie[6], over a Corne Land Plaine, keeping about two miles distance from the Seae, on as even and as pleasant Ground as can be seen besprinkled with many pretty villages, faire country houses, and numerous Fountaines; whose beauty as well pleasd our Eyes, as theyre Liquor our panting Thirsts. Here we mett a wonderfull Concourse of Passengers and near an hundred

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[1] The extracts here given are taken from *Rawlinson MS.* C. 799, fols. 49—51. Only those passages have been selected in which the route followed by Bargrave was identical with that described by Mundy in *Relation* II.

[2] Robert Bargrave, who was a "younger sonn" of Dr Isaac Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury (see the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*), spent the years 1648—1652 in travelling in southern and central Europe, and has left a quaint and interesting MS. chronicle of his experiences.

[3] See pp. 45 and 213.

[4] See pp. 46 and 213.

[5] See pp. 47 and 213.

[6] See pp. 47 and 212.

Carrs and waggons drawen by Buffaloes, this Road lying from Andrinople being seldom less employd: On these Plaines an incredible Quantity of Sheep have theyr Winter Quarters, for the Supply of Constantinople but they are incompatible (for want of Shade) of the Summers heat.

Septr. the 12th. We remained at Chiourlee...we went on the 13th some eight howres travell along the same continued Plaine, plentifully stor'd with Fowles and hares, of which our Gunns furnishd us that night with a supper at a Towne calld Burgoss[1], a small but very pleasant place in the Chief street whereof is a faire Mosque (or Church) adornd with curious Fountaines on the one side, and on the Other with a stately Cane[2] for Travellers conteining three large Quadrangles cloistered round, having within them very faire Chambers: Both Mosque and Cane had the same Founder, and are joind with a faire Cupula cross the Street, one to the other. In the Cane the Charitable Founder has bequeathed Provision for a dayly Supper to all Travellers Gratis[3] vizt. for every Company where Armes are hung up and a Carpet Spread, a sufficiency of Bread and admirable Pottage made of Mutton and wheat which for Curiosity sake we tasted of. By the way I noted and was throughly enformd, that the Turkes Charitie is chiefly exercised in building of Canes[4] and Fountaines for convenience to Travellers in memorie perhapps of theyr own advance by wandring motions when such Helpes as these were most gratefull....

Bulgaria...I could note litle but the strange abundance of Chattering Magpies and of scolding women to which Exercise theyr Language[5] helps much and tis probable those mimick birds are decoyd hither by the Delight they have in the Musique....The women here do allmost all the worke, at lest theyr shares with the Men; having a masculine proportion apted for it. Theyr Habit is a kind of Gowne without Sleeves wrought round at the Bottome, as are also theyr smocks so ordering the length of Either that the works on both do appeare. They weare Sylver Rings almost on every finger Bracelotts of black and white Beads or Shells upon theyr wrists and great Collars of sylver Coines about theyr Necks[6].

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[1] See pp. 48 and 212. [2] See pp. 52 and 212. [3] See *ante*, p. 212.
[4] See *ante*, p. 211. [5] See pp. 78 and 207. [6] See pp. 77 and 207.

APPENDIX G.

EXTRACTS FROM THE NOTE-BOOKS OF RICHARD SYMONDS.

THE TRAVELS OF RICHARD SYMONDS[1] FROM DOVER TO TURIN IN 1649.

1st. January, 1648[2], *English Accompt*, left London[3]. I had in money 9*l.* 0. 0., besides old gold one Elizabeth 22*s.*, one 11*s.*

[1] Richard Symonds, eldest son of Edward (or Edmund) Symonds, was born at the Plumtrees (now the Buck), Black Notley, Essex, in 1617. He joined the royalist army, in 1643, and became a member of the troop which formed the king's lifeguard. In January, 1649, Symonds set out on his European travels and remained abroad till about the end of 1652. During these years he set down his impressions in various note-books, which contain much valuable memoranda relating to the topography and genealogy of the places he visited, as well as many interesting artistic notes.

The two volumes used in *Appendix* G are entered in the British Museum catalogue of MSS. as follows:—(*a*) *Harl. MS.* 943. Another of Mr. Symonds' Manuscripts; wherein he has inserted, (1) Several notes relating to his own private Affairs, and the disposition of them. (2) Notes relating to his Charges in travailing into France, A.D. 1648—9. (3) Observations made by him in France, touching the Countrey, the People, their Fashions, Manners, and Customs, with Heraldical Matters, Church-Notes, &c. (4) Like Observations on his Journey from Paris to Italy, by the way of Savoy. (5) Discourses and Observations, touching various matters, thought worthy of remembrance by Mr. Symonds. (6) Notes concerning Mr. Symonds his Journey from Alexandria to Genoa and so to Rome; with Lists of Books and Pictures. (*b*) *Harl. MS.* 1278. A Modern MS. in 8vo. bought of Mr. Peter le Neve and written by the hand of Mr. Richard Symonds. It containeth—(1) His observations made upon his View of all the Public Buildings in Paris; with Copies and Draughts of Arms, Inscriptions, Epitaphs, Habits, Dials, &c. (2) At the beginning, is a Table of the said Buildings, as Churches, Monasteries, Colleges, &c.

The passages extracted from these two MSS. are those relating in any way to Mundy's journey from Turin to Dover and to the buildings in Paris of which he has an account in *Relation* II. A few of Symonds' entries of expenses are given, but many curious and interesting observations have, perforce, been omitted, since they have no direct bearing on Mundy's Travels.

Of the seventeen note-books left by Symonds, four only have been printed *in extenso*. These contain his *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the great Civil War*. They were edited for the Camden Society in 1859 by Charles Edward Long. Other note-books of Richard Symonds have be largely used by Morant in his *History of Essex* and by Walpole in *Anecdot Painting*.

For a detailed account of the life and works of Richard Symonds (died *circ.* 1692) see the account in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

[2] *i.e.* 1648/9.

[3] The notes at the beginning of *Harl. MS.* 943 (f extracts are taken), are very disconnected and are inte entries of items of expenditure.

Elizabeth, 1 thick peice, 1 thin peice. Exchang'd to P
55*l.*...For which I received there but 50*l.*, and abated 5 li
for provisions besides.

Porters, carrying portmantu, 1*s.*; passage in the Graves
barge, 6*d.*; portage at Gravesend, 6*d.*; breakfast there, 2*s.*; H
hyre for my selfe and a guide to Sittingburne, 18 myle, 1
thence to Canterbury, 15 myles[1], 7*s.*; Servant, 2*d.*; bayte th
1*s.* 6*d.*; Post and guide from Canterbury to Dover, 8*s.*; Host
6*d.*; bayt at Canterbury, 8*d.*; gave the boy that rode with me
the way to Dover, 1*s.*; my post boy, 1*s.*

At Dover at the Greyhound[2], but if ever I passe agen, to r
to the Queens Armes at the peere, for many reasons, especi
for the convenience of being neere the botes and sparing expen
Supper, fire, lodging, etc., 12*s.*...All that part of Dover which
calld the peere[3] was gaind out of the sea since the memory
man, for a fore the waves washt the rocky shore as under
castle now.

Wednesday, fowle weather, and the paquet bote was at Cal

Thursday, about nine in the forenoone, I enterd a shall
and at two afternoone, was at Callis[4]. Passage, 5*s.*; porter, 7
boy, 2*d.*; porter at Callis, 7*d.*; lodging at Dover, Wednes
night, 2*s.*...Market bote goes from Dover to Callis, Tuesdays a
Fridayes. The coaches of passage goe from Gravesend to C
terbury on Tuesdays and Fridays of corse....My lodging at Cal
supper, lodginge and dinner 4 and 5 January, 6*s.* 6*d.*; Chari
2*d.*; wine, 1 pint and mad: Flomrey, 5*d.*

January 5, 1648, *Friday*[5]. I set out with the Messen

[1] Mundy gives the distance between Canterbury and Sittingbourne
11 miles. See p. 135.

[2] Mundy also lodged at this inn in 1620. See p. 134.

[3] See p. 134 for Mundy's remarks on the "peere" and harbour at Dove

[4] Mundy made the passage from Calais to Dover in three and a half ho
See p. 134.

[5] This portion of *Harl. MS.* 943, relating to Symonds' journey from Ca
to Paris, exists in duplicate. The second copy is about a century later t
the original. It consists of ten quarto pages, bound up with *Sloane MS.* 4
(Biographical Anecdotes, Bibliotheca Birchiana) and is entitled, *Journal of
Travels of Richard Symonds*, 1648/9. The copyist prefixes the follow
biographical notes to his extract from Symonds' account of his travels:—"
was the son of Edward Symonds of Black Notley in the Kounty of Es
by his Wife Anna —; which Edward by his last Will dated October 12, 1
appoints his Son Richard his sole Executor. He leave to his two sons Edw
and John six hundred pounds each to be paid them at their several age

from Callais towards Paris, 12 o' the Clock, having left London 1 January, English accompt. We left Callis about one o'clock, and about seven that night, we Came to Bollon thorough a hilly Country, and by reason the Water has made deep gulls every where, tis a very scurvy passage, worse than ever I rode in England, now and then a fair Sandy Way. Near Callis some Villages stands thick, but very small, where a few Cottages built of stone and thatcht are neare the Church, which also is poore. Here the Country people plough with three small horses, that go all a breast, and wheel ploughs as in Kent, and lay their Land as in Kent, but with this difference, they lay all one way alike, but these in France remove furrowes. Only one small thatcht Abby on our right hand, five or six miles from Callis I saw in this Journey. A very playne hilly Country, no Wood but what is about some houses. Their Cottages stink as bad as the inhabitants.

From Bullen wee marcht along the shore. Bullen is no garrison. The Town stands upon a high Hill[1], and in the middle the Church, which is large. Wee lay at the golden Horn in the low Towne[2]. Here is a monastery of Capuchines. This Country, both in ground, but especially the Houses, is like Cornwall. This soil is better, and more fruitfull, not so rockie.

About one of the Clock we got to Montrill, a strong Garrison upon the summitye of a Hill[3] and four or five Churches in it. In one of them on the left hand, as you enter into the west end, lies an old Monument of a Knight in old Armour like our Templars[4]. It is a faire town and many hansome howses and good shops. I saw many hares in the Cokes shops. Here the country people pull off their hatts and goe out of the way with their Waynes, which Waynes are drawne with three horses, and the Waggoner

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three and twenty Years. To his Daughter Anne £500 to be paid at the age of twenty years, or at the day of her marriage, which shall first happen. Edward Symonds was baptis'd at Black Notley 20 December 1621, John 10 April 1627, Anne 31 March 1631."

[1] See p. 132.

[2] Mundy lodged at "The Grayhound," which was also in the "lower Towne." See p. 132.

[3] Mundy describes Montreuil as "a small Cittie with three walls." See p. 132.

[4] There is a sketch by Symonds, in the MS., of the "Arms embossed on the figure."

sitts on the neare horse behind. Browne horses are all as I have yet seen.

That night went to a Village called Berney[1], four or five howses, as most of the rest of all Villages in this Country have. This passage was good, an open Country, and some hills adorned with Woods such like some parts of Northamptonshire.

Sunday early we left that hostelrie and early at Masse time we entered Abbeville[2], so called, as I suppose, from some famous Abbey. There, indeed, part of a great church and lofty and other buildings remain, which shew a great fabrique. There is five or six more Churches, besides Religious houses. This is the best buildings I have yet seen in France. Riding, Shoeing, Waggoning, &c. are no Novelties on a Sunday. In this passage we came by many Churches, which stood not above half a myle from each other. We came near an Abbey, where, in the woods, are snares of Ropes and pullyes sett upon the Trees to catch birds. About Callis and this part of Picardy are many such crows, which are about Cambridge, and calld Royston Crows. The Chancels of the Countrey Churches are for the most part higher then the church. The steeple a Wall, wherein two holes are cutt for two small ting tang bells. The Villages have not above five or six poor Cottages of stone, thatcht; a few trees; the Country playne. The houses have an outward Doore besides the inward of thick splints, not much different from our Essex Gates to preserve braking open.

Abbeville is fortified strong, and many Trees in rows within the Works[3]. Fair Churches here, and a good towne, but dirty, especially in the market-place, which is large. Many Crosses in this town, wherein the Crucifix is as big as the Life. Two or three small Chapels in the high way with an Altar of stone and a statue.

After dinner we went to Poix; they call it nyne miles[4]. This passage and Country is likest to Cambridgshire, chalky, playne, champagne and hilly, Thin of parishes. The woods are not fenct in, but open to the Champagne.

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[1] The Bearne of Mundy, who calls it "a poore Towne." See p. 132.

[2] See p. 131 f.

[3] Mundy had no time to make observations at Abbeville, as he stayed there "only to breake fast."

[4] Symonds, no doubt, had reason to distrust the native estimate of the distance between Abbeville and Poix. Mundy gives 18 miles between the two places. See p. 131 f.

In Abbeville, I saw two wild bores heads and pawes nayled at the Gate of a gentlemans Howse in the town. In the valley, as we past, four miles, as I take it, from Abbeville, we came by a small Garrison. They call it Pont d'armee[1]. Upon the drawbridge is a Wolfes head and clawes nayled....

Poix is a small village[2]. Here, as elsewhere, the lower parts of the windowes are latticed and glazed above. Here, in this inn, the Woman servants, or Maid servants that wayted on us, helped the fellows to fill the tumbriel with dung. On the top of the hill stands a Castle of chalky stone, a grove neare it; also the Church, which is faire, not like our Churches. Tis covered with blew shingles, which lookes afar off like lead.

9 *January, Julian accompt.* Munday morning wee marcht from thence through a fair hilly Country, where the Villages stand in the Vallyes for the most part. The hills are plowed, being a sandy and Chalky soil. But this journey was far better then any of the former. About the middle of the way, on the left hand, wee left a lofty, large and fair Castle. No Gentlemans howses all this way, but one, and that was in our way near that Castle. Many Dovehouses and great flocks of pidgeons.

In the beginning of the Evening we entered the faire, and the best towne I have yet seene in France, of Beauvois[2]. Six or seven Churches, one of them very high, of the fashion of the Abbey of Westminster. The houses in this town are very high, the streets well paved, but Dung-hills all the way in the middle of them. The Churches are lofty, and much adorned with statues outside; Many of the Virgin Mary sitting and holding the dead body of our Saviour in her Lap. This town is seated in a Valley: the rivers run through it, and the lofty hills, which inviron it, are adorned with a multitude of Vineyards. The situation not unlike to Salisbury, and the prospect also, though the river divides itself nothing so often. The great Church in this town is extreme lofty. In the quire, near the Alter, are many large, flat stones, inlayd with brass, for Bishops and churchmen, their inscriptions circumscribd in old French Characters, as our old ones are also in England. I saw no arms in the Windowes, but faire old Glasse, nor noe old monuments of any notice. Tis called l'Eglise de

[1] See p. 131. Mundy agrees with Symonds in the distance between Abbeville and "Pondormy."

[2] See p. 131.

S. Pierre. The south ile is the faire Entrance, whereto you ascend upon many fair stone steps. The two doores are large, and very fairely carved in Wood of stories of our Saviour. The Font is adorned with the Statues of our Savior in the middle and his six Disciples on each side of him. The habitt of the Churchmen, whereof I saw many, is black gowne and whood hanging with a long poke behind; under it a demy surplice laced at bottom. The marketplace is so large, that a regiment of foot of 1000 men may march in Battalia. The Windowes are of squared pillars of Wood, and the Glass is square also, and lett into them. Some of them, the pillars, are in the fashion of flowers De Lis, &c.

About ten of the Clock, wee left this town, and marcht over a champagne, hilly, chalky and not very plentifull Country. Yet many of the hills are tilld, and yield hopes of an ensuing plentifull harvest. And when we had past a long Cawsey and bridge, wee entered Beaumond[1], which has two or three Churches and a very old, ruind, yet fortified Castle. This Towne is built of stone and of no great note. This is 16 Myles from Paris[2], and stands in the Confines of the Country or Province of France.

Next morning wee passed through a Country which is as far beyond Picardy as England beyond Wales, both for Gentlemans howses, neat Villages, a fair Cawsey of stone almost all the way to Paris; Vineyards and Orchards of Cherryes, apples and peares most part of the way, on either hand....The villages are for the most part consisting of a Gentlemans howse, a pretty Church, and in many not above six, seven or eight howses with Orchards and a Grove for the most part within a Wall.

We entered St. Dennis[3], where the faire Abbey is much beautified with a stately Church, where the Kings of France are buried....

To the Messenger[4] for my passage from Callis to Paris, he bearing all my charges and finding horse, 11 Crownes, 2. 15. 0.; to the boy, 4*d*.; Gave to servants in my passage, 1*s*. 6*d*. The

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[1] See p. 131.

[2] Mundy also gives the distance between Beaumont and Paris as 16 miles. See p. 131 f.

[3] See p. 130.

[4] Symonds' notes of his daily expenditure are scattered over his MS. and interspersed with his account of scenery or buildings.

two French men that went with me paid but three pistols[1] a man for this Journey. Expended by the way 10*d.*; and in enterteyning three Captains of Colonel Rookebeyes Regiment at Beaumond, 2*s.* To the messengers master at Paris for my Portmantue, which did weigh 36 Pound (I was allowed 5*l.*), at 4*d.* the *l.*, 10*s.* The messenger La liberté had of me at St. Dennis, partly for wine, partly for passage, etc., 1*s.* 3*d.*

11 *January.* My lodging at St. Cristofers in La Rue de Roy, from Thursday night to Satterday afternoone and dyett, 10*s.*[2]... Enterd into Pension at the three Mores heads in La Rue St. Jaque, Tuesday, 15 January[3]....My being in pension at the Three Mores, in Rue St. Jaque, three weekes, to the 15 of February, 3*l.*; Porter, 10*d.*; going up Nostre Dame steeple, 3*d.*[4] and St. Etienne, 2*d.*; Gave my landladyes servant, 5*d.*; the maid, 5*d.*[5]... Bootes mending, 5*d.*; Paid my landlady at the Three Mores to the 2nd. of March, two weekes at a pistol the weeke 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*[6]; The Ceremonies of the Church, 1*s.* 3*d.*; Paid my landlady at Three Mores to the 9th March, 15*s.* 10*d.*....wood 10*d.*; Barbier, 8th March, cutting my hair, 20*d.* and cleansing my teeth, 40*d.* he was not pleased....Paid my pension to the 16th March, one Weeke, 16*s.* 8*d.*; razor, 7*d.* Making cleane my watch, 21*d.*; cristall for it, 21*d.*...Paid my landlady one weeks money aforehand to the 24th March, 16*s.* 10*d.*....Virgils six books of Aeneads in latine and French, 5*s.*; paid one moneth hyring my lute to 29th March, 30*d.*....Paid my Landlady at Three Mores, 1st April to the 6th April, 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*....Bootes, setting up, etc., 5*s.*...inkhorne, 4*d.*; gloves mending and washing, 20*d.*....Bleeding, 19th May, 20*d.*....at my lodging in Rue Sept Voyes, five dayes chamber rent, 25*d.*....Sword, blackinge scabbarde, 3*s.* 3*d.*; Prayer booke, 6*d.*; gloves, mending and washing, 20*d.*; Looking glasse, 14*d.*; Paid my pension to the 19th April, 16*s.* 3*d.*; Mending my cloth suite, etc., 40*d.*....bleeding, 19th May, 20*d.*; big leeches, 20th May, 54*d.*

[1] *i.e.* about £2. 11*s.* 0*d.* The pistole, a Spanish gold coin, was worth, in the 17th century, from 16*s.* 6*d.* to 18*s.*

[2] Here follow numerous items of expenditure for food, wine, books, clothing, etc.

[3] Symonds stayed in Paris for nearly seven months, while Mundy only remained in the city for one clear day. See pp. 124—130.

[4] Mundy also "ascended" one of the "two great steeples" of the "great Church of our Lady." See p. 130.

[5] Here follow numerous trivial items of expenditure.

[6] Symonds values a pistole at 16*s.* 8*d.* See above, note 1.

Friday night, May 28th, I removed to the Quatre Vents [?] Priedue, neere Place Maubert....Hat, 8 francs; journey Clou, Ruel and St. Jermains, horse, 35*d.*; Dinner, 15*d.*; Madame Martyn for a moneth from the 26th May, 45 3£. 15*s.*, and 40*d.* for washing. To St. Denys, 1st July, d 40*d.*....Seing Cardinal Richlieu's Palais, 20*d.*....Paid for l from the first till July, 6*s.* 8*d.*....1 pr. linnen stockings, 20*d.* my master of French, 5*s.* and 7*s.* 6*d.* for a fortnight twice a d

Paris[1]. The method of discovering or describing this and large Citty, divide into four Quarters. First that Q wherein is the kings howse called the Louvre. Secondly, quarter wherein is the Bastyle. 3rdly, the quarter where the Colledg of Sorbonne and the fauxbourg of St. Ger 4thly[2].

The kings howse calld the Louvre at Paris[3]. Next River is a long building of stone which is the gallery, c with blew Slate[4]. The fore gate stands westward, where as s as you enter you ascend some stepps of stone which looke i large garden[5], which ascent is a stayrecase all of stone of forme, the Pillars of Black Marble. The Garden is of walkes and knotts of box as the garden at White hall in E About the sides are Cipresse trees about twelve in all, which high and the body is prund up about a mans height from gro the boughes not tyed as ours in England. Right over agains entrance into this Royall Palace, which is but begun and not perfected, I suppose (as not intended), within a stone wa a larg garden almost halfe a myle square, in plans upon a where, at the entrance, you looke thorough a walke on each planted with shee Elmes, but the Cawsey, as all other the w in that garden, is so troublesomely dirty tis a labor to walke In the middle is a grove of Cipresse tall and Box make the he pretty close, So that Box is below and Cipresse above in the s hedge. There is a faire pond also in that garden and t

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[1] The following descriptions of the Louvre, St Innocents, etc. are from *Harl. MS.* 1278, which contains Symonds' *Notes on Churches and Buildings in Paris.*

[2] There is a gap in the MS. here.

[3] See pp. 126—128 for Mundy's description of "The Loure."

[4] Here Symonds has a rough sketch of the building.

[5] See p. 127.

Crosse walks of thick and tall box, some groves of Elmes, some squares of box knotts. One side on the right hand as you come in is althorough out of box knotts, where the hedges are neately kept as thus[1]. Next some of the walls, as in many other places of France is planted of beech wood, which grows like a hedge to defend you from the hot reflection of the Sun upon those walls.

Chasteau Royal de Louvre. The first Court is begun to be built very lofty and large, the front with statues over the port. The Gallery next the Water is not halfe-way rooft, paved with brick and two Row of square stones in the middle of black and white marble. The spaces betweene the Windowes was designed to have the prospects of all the famousest Citties of the World in painting, not one perfected nor begun. The Roofe has halfe statues and antique worke upon painting of Mosaique[2]. In a little Gallery going into the great one[3] are the pictures of all the Kings of France from St. Louys at length and the heads of all their severall great officers about them; their Queenes the other side and their Ladyes[4]. Monsr. Bunel was a painter in this Gallery.

Under the long gallery is a place is called the Bureau d'Adresse. Here a man has bookes of Servants and Lacquies names. Every lacquey that wants a master, for 5*d.* has his name entred and condition, and those that want servants come to him and give him 5*d.* also for his payment of helping him to him.

The Roofe has many storyes of men and women. At the farther End aloft sitts Henry IV. in a throne and his Court about him. In the middle is a square place rayld in and a step higher then the other for the King and Queene to be in when there are bien du monde. No other paintings of note in this large Howse except four seasons done by Bassano small, the things lesse then the life....

Des Hostels plus Remarquables en Fauxbourg S. Germain. In the large Street at the foregate of Louxemberg in the middle of the street that which was the house of the Marquis d'Ancre[5] is

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[1] Here is a rough sketch of box trees cut into two different shapes.

[2] In *Harl. MS.* 943, Symonds says, "Much of the Roofe [of the Louvre] is guilt but not a quarter of it."

[3] In *Harl. MS.* 943, Symonds says that the "little gallery is as you goe from the Queen of Englands Cot into the long gallery." See p. 128.

[4] See p. 127.

[5] See p. 129.

now written over the Gate, Hostel pour Les Embassadeurs ordinaires[1]...Hostel de Luxembourg. The one side ne Nunnery of Mount Calvaire is finisht and fairely guilded v The One side is a gallery flat Roofe but fairly guilded, and c sides the story of the life of Marie de Medicis[2]....

Eglise Sto. Innocents. There is in Rue St Denys, a church and low, No handsome Church within, a faire Mon of a brasse in the east end of the South yle of a Woman from ground, Tis of a Nun 1400 and od[3], her portrait in brasse. The Hangins of the body of the church were the b paintings I ever saw and rarely done, much spoyled and raffled, of our Saviour, Many persons in a peice, much plate, very Pilate examining Our Saviour rarely done. The Church ya large & a Cloister Round it whose roofe is all full of sculls bones[4]. This is the burying place of all strangers, Many cr that have Inscriptions at the head of the graves....

Eglise de Nostre Dame. Tis seated in a hole very low, Pont Nostre Dame tis downe hill to it. Two lofty great Tc at the west end which have vast Bells in them[5]. Many old st are at this west end, our Saviour in the middle and six o disciples on either hand, all flattish and very long. Above i last judgment with a world of bodyes and people....This Ch is very broad considering the height, which is very low in yles, and has four Rowes of Pillars in the body and Quir Some old Glasse remaining in the North side of the Quire much in the Crosse Windowes; the Statues of Saints on South part of the Crosse are far bigger then the life, for passing under them lookt like pigmies at the distance.... Roofe of this Church and Chancel is coverd with Lead, w is rarely seene here....

Their Dyett[6]. In our Pension and in my Inn also it ordinary to [have] rost beife at night, burne the out side and blood within when you cutt it. They have sallads all the wi

[1] See p. 126.

[2] This palace was unfinished when Mundy visited Paris in 1620. p. 126.

[3] The figures evidently refer to the century in which the lady lived anc to her age.

[4] See p. 129. [5] See p. 130.

[6] From this point the extracts are taken from *Harl. MS.* 943, Symc *Notes of Travels in France and Italy.*

of Collyflower stalks. In their pottage they putt long herbes and often gobbets of Turnips and sops of bread, without thicking of oat meal....

A Mountebank and his boy on Sunday hanging his Crocodyle Skins and selling his medicaments with his quack confidence to the people under the brasen Horse of Henry IV. upon Pont Neuf[1]....

3 *August.* Left Paris and, with the messager of Nevers, Went first night, being Tuesday, twelve leagues; this Journey many pretty howses in the Villages, as the Seigneur de la village.... Wee lay in a walld bourg....This was no rich Country.

Wednesday, five in the morning, wee rode through a Rocky Country...the little Valleyes not fruitfull...few Churches and poore ones, playne Country....

This day we passd through Montargig[2], where stands an old Chasteau belonging to the Duke of Orleans....The River is small and pretty meadowes; boats made here....

La Buciere...a pleasant place, but barren...a little afore wee came to the next Ville or Bourge, which is small and Joyned to the Loyre[3]. Here is a Canall that was made about twenty yeares since, which Joynes the Loyre which is at Montargis. At the Mills are sluces to lett in the botes so they mount up hills. Les Escluses—sluices rose, they are filled, the botes passes.

Briare[4]. Without the towne is the Cemitere...many Barren hills and dales in this fore noone passage to Bony[4], a walld towne upon Loyre....The Loyre is broad having much sands and wast ground, of every side unfruitfull. Tis a rude Valley from Briare, and high hills every side the Loire, woodye, and the Country neither very pleasant nor fruitfull[5], abundance of Noyers, Walnut Trees, in this place neare Bony....Right against Bone, on the other side the Loyre, top of the hill in the province of Berry, is a pretty little bourg walld they call Beau Lieu, one Church.... This night wee lay at a walld Ville they call Coane upon the river, Cone sur Loyre[4]....The Ville is walld and draw bridged;

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[1] See p. 125. Here follows a list of the books which Symonds left in Paris and of those which he took with him on his journey to Turin.

[2] Symonds' route from Paris to Briare was viâ Montargis and La Bussière. Mundy and his party, travelling in the opposite direction, followed the Loire from Briare to Orleans and thence to Paris. See pp. 121—124.

[3] Probably Gien is meant. See p. 122. [4] See p. 121.

[5] Mundy, however (see p. 123), found "the Countrey downe the River very pleasant."

a pritty River runs in divers places. Over against this on the side of Berry, on the sumity of a Mounteyne, is the little Ville de Sainct Loire[1], which they call Papauté des Huguenots....

This morning, *Friday*, easily to dinner (by the Loyre side) at the Charité. This passage was yet the most pleasant I have seene in France, for many meadowses and good Corne was in the level. The Loyre broad and full of shelves of sand. La Charité is walld, has three parish Churches, three howses of Religion, a Grenier du Sel and a President etc., is on the side of the hill, very well paved and cleane, none like it in all our passage. In the mountaynous hills round it are many vineyards, and below, walnut Trees and Corne. Here is a stone bridge[2] goes from this Towne to a little island full of houses in the Loyre. Sandy way.

Thence after dinner to Pougues[3], in the Winter a Dirty way and deepe, a Woody Country and a league or two from the Loyre, but in the high Rode to Nevers[4].

Last of August....Left Nevers in the way to Lyons[5]....Lay at Roanne[4], a large towne upon the River of Loyre; all the howses have very flat broad Roofs and large Eves, the shops on arches of stone; in the evening, shut. Wee passt it to the Chapeau Rouge, a very fair Inn. The people were sitting in the streets peeling of Hemp, burning of the stalks to give them light. The other chief Inn, which is the Loup, is accounted the best between Lyons and Paris....The Botes, which are covered with Deale, go from Hence to Orleans six dayes[6], which [?][7] they ask demy pistoll[8]....The Custome is to sell a Bote here for 18 Livres, And the boatmen will carry one to Orleans tout express for 16 crownes[9]. The Boates go no higher up the River then 2 leagues....Roanne has but one parish church....

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[1] Sancerre. See p. 121.

[2] See p. 121 for the bridge at La Charité.

[3] Symonds travelled by road, while Mundy went by boat down the Loire, and would thus miss Pougues, which is not on the river.

[4] See p. 120.

[5] From Nevers, Symonds went, viâ Moulins and La Palisse to Roanne, while Mundy followed the Loire, passing Decize, St Aubin-sur-Loire and Marcigny. See p. 120.

[6] Six days was the time occupied by Pindar's party in the passage from Roanne to Orleans.

[7] Word illegible.

[8] Apparently, per passenger. See note 1 on p. 223.

[9] Pindar only paid "Ten Frenche Crownes per boate." See p. 120.

Thence, *friday*, ten of the clock, wee rode over a hilly mountaynous Country, not fruitfull, yet having in the narrow valleyes many pleasant meadowes, though no Rivers....

That night Wee lay at Terrara[1] in a hole, a little bourg, unwald....

This next morning, being *Satterday*, wee passt a more pleasant Country, lesse hilly, more Chasteaus and buildings. At noone got into the mountayneous descent downe to Lyons.

Lyons is very Rocky and mountaynous ground in that side of the towne We enterd, having a castle upon the lofty inaccessible Rock towards the River of Soane. A long street at bottome of that mountayne on the Soane side. Two bridges over the Soane. At the second Port was an officer to take our names, and where wee would ly, and where our Cloke baggs were opend. The Evesché or Cathedral Church is not large nor very remarquable; tis dedicated and caled L'eglise de S. Jean. The Exchange for merchants[2] all Soane side. Many steeples coverd with Tin. Some howses with divers colourd Tyles. The Belle Cour is a large flat, and Rowes of Trees, where the people sett and walke.... The River of Roan with his swift streame runs on the south side of the towne; both[3] meet in the lower end of the Citty....

I have not yet seene in all this Country [France] a man or woman with a pimpled red drunken face Nor a Puritan sqynt eye, very rarely....

Munday, 6 *September*, one of the clock, left Lyons, tooke the way of Turin, a playne pleasant way, sandy country having pleasant little seates [on the] sides of the hills. Seven leagues to Bolognie[4]....

Tuesday, 7 *September*. Through pleasant Valleyes, especially one where was the largest and fairest meadow I have seene in France, a castle, a chasteau, aloft on the hill and a handsome village below, Then between, some woody hills but the valley not barren. Many Chesnutt Trees in this passage. The Vynes which are but few are supported by strong crotches, seven or eight or nine foot above ground, then Fenced. Many Vynes run up into the lofty black Cherry Trees; many Timber Trees and Walnutts also.

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[1] Tarare. See p. 119.

[2] Mundy speaks of the "great Traffique" at Lyons. See p. 119.

[3] *i.e.*, the Saône and the Rhone. See p. 119.

[4] Bolognie seems to be an error for Bourgoin. See p. 118.

Wee dyned at Pont Bon Voisin[1], two leagues and halfe on our journey....The beginning of the Hills. This was the Hemp Harvest here, for all their brookes are stinkyfyd with that [?][2] Sadade de Gascogne. Two Sangliers heads over the door of our Inn....Here wee rode over a pretty Large River that runs to Grenoble[3]. Grenoble is five Leagues from this place and the Grand Chartreux is three or four. Over this bridge wee entred Savoy[4], where was a Guard who confirmed our Bill of Health. Wee ascended a lofty hill which is calld Le Montagne de Gibelet[5]; a pretty large lake[6] afore wee came at it, many timbre Trees and Cottages and some small Churches....Wee arrived at Chambery, a good Ville, the Chiefe of Savoy. The people call it Sambery. In the walls of this Citty and suburbs are three parish Churches.... The Howses are lofty and flat roofd[7]....The hills are lofty round and near the Citty. Kill Pigeons putting the head under a wing and throw it to the ground. The Inhabitants speak French, but most with a smack of Italian[8]. About twelve of the clock, Wee left this Citty and rode through the Valleyes over no mountayne, but wending up and downe in a pretty valley. Wee past many parishes, yet but five leagues that night...on the left hand we left a lofty Castle upon the Rock, inaccessible, commanding a pritty bourg below it, both calld Mont Mellian[9]; 1631, The King of France and Cardinal Richlieu in person beseiged it 14 moneths, after drew off sans rien faire, 500 men within it. Tis always victuald for three yeares. There are five places one above another that command each the other. The low walls have square musquet holes below the Top. A broad River[10] runs by this bourg....Wee lay at Egbelle[11]....Here the Mountaynes are the highest yet, and snow melting and running downe, The Topp and

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[1] Pont de Beauvoisin. See p. 118.

[2] Word illegible.

[3] Symonds is mistaken. He crossed the Rhone at Pont de Beauvoisin, while Grenoble is on the Isère, which at this point is nowhere near the main stream.

[4] See p. 118. [5] *i.e.*, Aiguebelette. See p. 117 f.

[6] The Lac d'Aiguebelette. See p. 118.

[7] See Mundy's description of Chambery on p. 116 f.

[8] See p. 114.

[9] The "Mummelan" of Mundy. See p. 116.

[10] *i.e.*, the Arc.

[11] Aiguebelle. Mundy calls the place Gabella. See p. 116.

sides of the mountaynes full of wood....The Embassaders armes of Venice and other Countryes are in the Inn or post howse[1].... It raynes almost alwayes on the top of the Mountaynes.

Thursday morning, at seven o' the clock, wee sett out and got to our dining place by twelve, being four leagues and somewhat more. This passage was all on the sides of the Rocks, by a Rapid shallow strong roring River, called Lizere[2], which goes by Grenoble, The mountaynes yet loftyer then the former, and a league in length; they seeme to bee ready to fall on our heads. Many great stones were lying below. This River eates up the Valley[3], yet there are Villages and small Churches on the sides of the Hills. the Sun shone from the early morning, yet came not on the South side of the way till about ten or eleven o' the Clock. Snow in some places on the top.

Wee dyned at La Chambre[4]. Neare this is remayning a Ruyned old Castle, fortifyd, And a Wall afore wee caime to this towne from the Rock to the River to stop the passage, but not now of use. This journey I saw many of the villagers with great throats[5], especially the women; few children have it. Our Host here had a little gullet. I askt him the reason, and some said twas the Snow water. He laught at that, and said it was the Ayre; he never dranke any Water in his life. Here Plums were hangd up by the stalks in strings, one not touching the other, thirty or forty in a string, which last and eat well at a year or two old. This is the middle of our Journey. The language here is chiefly French, but bad enough[6]. Water they call De Leager; depessa for depesche, make hast; for ouy they say, Way, woy.

After dinner by the River side, sometimes over bridges, some of large Arches. At a league end, wee came to the Bishoprick of St. Jean de Morian[7], a pretty bourg or Ville till wee entred it, but within so close and stinking, being that the sun enters not by reason of the height of the howses and broad Eves. Here is but one Church and One Convent of Capucins and two or three other

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[1] Mundy "lay att the signe of the Ramme" at Aiguebelle. See p. 116.

[2] Read L'Izere. Symonds mistook the Arc for the Isère. See note 2 on p. 230.

[3] See p. 115.

[4] Mundy does not seem to have stopped at this usual halting-place.

[5] Goître. See p. 117.

[6] See p. 114 f.

[7] See p. 115 f.

houses of Religion. Their Timber here is Sappin, and for Tables and Chairs, walnutt. Th[ey] are still by the River side[1], the valley being still eat up by this roaring devourer. Some times a little church and two or three howses on the sides of the mountaynes. The Hills Rocky and high, Snow in some places. In all villages in the way in the Crosses is cutt a place where a little image of the Blessed Virgin is. Upon a bridge this—
En passant par ce lieu, Salutez La mere de Dieu.

Wee lay at St. Michel[2], a close nasty bourg, four lieues distant from the last night. A Castle aloft comands it, small, and not much fortifyd....

The swelling of the Throat is cald De Gouëtre[3] ou Bronchocesse, Latin Broconsolus. This landlord also was swelld, and he says tis not the eyre nor water, but a Rhume that falls from the head. Those that live above in the mountaynes have lesse or no swelling. This River nourishes no fish but Des Truits, which are very good....

Friday morning. Wee rode by the side of the Rude mounteynes and Hills, being fuller of Deale trees then the former. The rude River conteyning almost all the Valley[4]....

Wee dyned at Modene[5], a small Village, three lieues. After dinner, four leagues to Lanbourg[6], a small village. In this way, wee saw Higher Mountayns with more quantity of Greene Trees, Vizt., de Pine and de Sapine; They have no other greene Trees, as the inhabitants say. This was the most fearefull passage[7], for the way was high oftentimes and the downfall hideous, The River runing at bottome, which many times could not be discovered, did it not discover it selfe by its noyse. Very many sappins of divers sorts and kinds. The Streight sort is of three kinds, broad tops and broad long leaves, two, smaller leaves, and another sort....This is at the bottom of the two high mountaynes that exceed all the rest in this passage. Tis calld Mont Sinnys[8]. Now wee turne our way over this mountayne on the right hand,

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[1] The Arc. See p. 115.
[2] Mundy dined at St Michel. See p. 115.
[3] See p. 117 and *ante*, p. 231. [4] See p. 115.
[5] Modane. Mundy's halting-place was Bramant. See p. 115.
[6] Lanslebourg. The Lambort of Mundy. See p. 114.
[7] Mundy says that it was "wonderfull steepie." See p. 113.
[8] Mt Cenis. See p. 112.

leaving the River on the left hand. Here they call Claret Wine, Vin Ruggis, Corruptedly speake such kind of French as it is generally, though divers speake corrupted Italien[1]. Three Evesches in Savoye. March and Aprill are the most dangerous moneths to passe these wayes.

We hyred horses Satterday morning, and mules, of purpose to mount the high mountayne. One descended in a Chaire for 5*s*.[2] A lake on the top[3]....Grasse mowing, hay in Crocks and Snow in great abundance. Lizards and Grasshoppers skipping and runing in the descent of the hill and was as hott as on the top it was cold....

Wee dyned at La Novaleze[4], a small Bourg. Here wee had our title of health allowd. The river[5] descends into Savoye, which is the snow water melted, in as great violence as the other goes the other way to Grenoble[6]. Now wee were at the bottome of the Great rocky mountayne that divides Savoy and Piedmont. After dinner, wee went with the River, in a Valley betweene the Rocks, and Lay at St. Ambrosio[7]. On the top of the rock, near this bourg, is the building of a monastery of Benedictines, very rich. Here the inhabitants carried Dung to their ground in a low cart of four equal built wheales, drawn by two oxen. The people speake halfe French and halfe Italien corrupt. Five leagues this afternoon.

Next morning, being Sunday, to Turino, Ten myles, for now the account begins by Myles of This passage. Looking behind us, wee saw winter and felt it that day afore, and now by reason of the wind and fresh grasse, wee seemed to be in the spring, and anon in the height of Summer. Many Castles in Piedmont upon the frontiers. One which was on our right hand was besieged and had four armyes at one time at the siege and reliefe de Villiano[8].... The Vineyards in the way side are much different from those of

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[1] See p. 114 f.

[2] Pindar also descended the mountain "in a chaire betweene two men," but in the contrary direction. See p. 113 f.

[3] See p. 113.

[4] Mundy "lodged att the Posthowse" at Novalese before ascending Mt Cenis from the Italian side. See p. 112.

[5] The Dora Riparia, a tributary of the Po.

[6] See *ante*, note 2 on p. 230, and note 2 on p. 231.

[7] Mundy's halting-place was Bussoleno. See p. 112.

[8] Avigliana. Mundy calls the place Viana. See p. 111.

France. For a Row of maples growes in the Corne feilds, whereon the vynes run and hang, and these rowes in some pasture feilds grow within six or eight foot distant in two rows and the vynes are conducted upon poles betweene each other[1]. Here the plowd land was deep ridges like ours in England....The prospect of Turin is a company of dirty red flat howses, few or no steeples onely four towres coverd with Tin of the dukes palace.

Turino[2]. A deepe grasse [?][3] and well fortifyd, A Cittadel entire next the Alpes sides. Entering the port, wee showd our bills of health, and the officers gave us a ticket of health to be intertayned at our Inn, And tooke note of all our names. At supper the servant of the Hostelrye takes all our names and sends them to the Governour....By reason of the Dutches of Savoy, who is sister to the late King of France[4], the people here also as many French as Italian....La maison de madame has many roomes furnisht with good peices of painting. All the Dukes of Savoy on Horseback in a large roome. All the Dutchesses at large with other ladyes in another Roome. Divers peices of painting upon board, St. John Baptist and a Jew, old and rare like N. Bruyns work. Some of Michael Angelo, Not many of Titian....

The Stable of the Duke is doubled pillerd within, of brick coverd with plaster, three horses between each pillar, poles going between each horse. The Manger differs from all I have seene. There is no Rack. But that which is our manger is the place where the Hay is putt, deeper and broader then ours, Lathed below, that the dust may fall downe, And that the Hay may not be blowne. There are three divisions for the horse to put in his head, that are made onely by crosse sticks. He eates his Oates in a small square box is made at one corner. A Division of deale Boards betweene every Horse. This, as all the Stables in France, and in their Accademyes, is pavd with Stone. The grasse about this Towne is broad and dry, many Gardens at bottome, walks of Brick like that at Callis of stone[5].

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[1] See Mundy's description of the Italian vineyards on p. 105.

[2] See pp. 109—111. [3] Word illegible.

[4] See p. 110 for the marriage of Christine, sister of Louis XIII., to the heir to the dukedom of Savoy, in 1619.

[5] The remainder of *Harl. MS.* 943, with the exception of the items of expenditure which follow, contains notes of places and buildings that have no connection with Mundy's narrative.

To the Messenger of Nevers from Paris to Pougues, 9 Crownes, four nights. To the man, XII*d.*; dyet and lodging 15 days at Pougues, at 52*d.* a day....Dyet and lodging at Nevers at the Troys Carreaux at 30*d.* a day...lost at cards, two pistols...lost at Tennis, 1*s.* 6*d.* To the fellow that playd the messenger for us from Nevers to Lyons, four dayes Journey from Nevers to Lyons, from Tuesday morning 8 o'clock, arrived at Lyons one Satterday afternoone, 30 livres, 30 francs. At Le feu de France in Lyons at 50*d.* a day To Tuesday noone, 7th September, two days; a Coach ride, 5*s.*; priests dinner, 15*d.*; shoes, 50*d.*; To servants, 20*d.*

To the Fellow for horses to Turin, being seven dayes, at 3 pistols and halfe, 13 livres; in that Journey from Lyons to Turin at 40*d.* a day giving to servants and all....

To the Viturino or guide that went a foot and fed our horses, 25*d.*; gloves, 20*d.*; Bootes setting up, 3 livres, 15 sols[1] of Turin. Lodging and eating at the Rosa Rossa in Turin, three dayes at 3 livres a day of Turin, 13 livres to a pistol of Spayne....

15*th September*, from Turyn to Genoa, two pistolls and halfe. Bill of health at Turin, 30*d.*; Dinner by the way, an eg and a frog and ill wyne, 15*d.*...

[1] See pp. 98 and 100.

LIST OF FULLER TITLES OF BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS QUOTED AND REFERRED TO IN THE FOOT-NOTES AND INTRODUCTION.

Abdy, Sir Thomas. A journall...of my travells in France...1633—1635. (*Rawl. MS.* D. 1285.)

Additional MSS. (British Museum Library):

10623. *See* Chiswell, Richard.
19278—19281. *See* Mundy, Peter.
22978. *See* Pococke, Richard.
33420. *See* Tonkin, Thomas.
34177. *See* Italy—Travel and Topography.

Bargrave, Robert. A Relation of sundry Voyages and Journeys, 1646—1656. (*Rawl. MS.* C. 799.)

Barton, Edward. The Journey of. *See* Purchas His Pilgrimes.

Baudier, Michael. *See* Grimston, Edward.

Bell, Richard. An account of the voyages and travells of, from Lisbon to Jerusalem in anno 1669. (Part III. of *Sloane MS.* 811.)

Bent, J. Theodore. Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant. The Diaries of Thomas Dallam and Dr John Covel. (Hakluyt Society's Publications, 1st Series, No. LXXXVII.) London, 1893.

Blau, Otto. Reisen in Bosnien und der Hertzegowina. Berlin, 1877.

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INDEX.

Abbeville, Pindar's party halt at, xlviii, 132, 220 *n.* 3; description of, 131 *n.* 6, 132 *n.* 1, 220, 221; pistols made at, 132 *n.* 1; churches at, 220

Abbot, Bartholomew, passenger on the *Royall Merchant*, xxiii, 14, 15; escorts Pindar from Constantinople, 44, 45; takes leave of Pindar, 47, 47 *n.* 1

Abbot, George, Archbishop of Canterbury, succeeds Bancroft, 136 *n.* 1

Abbot, Sir Morris, owner of the *Royall Merchant*, xxiii, 15 *n.* 1, 166, 167; Chas. Vivian bound to, xxiii *n.* 4, 15 *n.* 2; Governor of the East India Co., 15 *n.* 1; a member of the Levant Company, 42 *n.* 5

Abdulla Ckhaun ('Abdullah Khān), governor of Patna, 8

Abdy, Anthony, a member of the Levant Company, 42 *n.* 5

Abdy, Sir Thomas, Roger Vivian accompanies, on the Continent, xxiii *n.* 4; his *Travels* (*Rawl. MS.* D. 1285) referred to, 117 *n.* 6, 126 *n.* 3

Absa. *See* Hafsa

Abydos, castle, on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles, 157, 157 *n.* 2, 197, 198

Account of the Roads of Italy referred to, 99 *n.* 3, 101 *n.* 4, 106 *n.* 4

Achin, a factory settled at, 9; Mundy makes two visits to, 9

Adda, river, Pindar's party cross the, xliii, 106, 106 *n.* 2

Add. MS. 10623. *See* Chiswell, Richard

Add. MS. 22978. *See* Pococke, Richard, *Travels* of

Add. MS. 24121 (Peck's notes on the Wyche family), referred to, 158 *n.* 3

Add. MS. 27332, referred to, 93 *n.* 3

Add. MS. 33420, contains extracts from Mundy's MS., lxii

Add. MS. 34177 (Journey over Mt. Cenis), referred to, 108 *n.* 5

Add. MSS. 19278—19281, contain copies of Mundy's voyages to India and China, lxi

Adige, river, floating mills on the, 72 *n.* 4

Adrianople, Pindar's party halt at, xxviii, xxx, 49, 49 *n.* 3; a guard accompanies Pindar from Constantinople to, xxxiii; the Grand Signior's house at, xxx, 49; description of the road from Constantinople to, 45 *n.* 6, 46 *n.* 2, 48 *n.* 4, 184, 212, 215, 216; Mundy's and other descriptions of, 49, 49 *n.* 4, 156, 211; description of the road to Philippopolis from, 60; other names for, 155, 156, 211; by whom built and repaired, 155

Adriatic Sea, xli, 147; marriage of the Doge of Venice to the, 95, 96 *n.* 1

Adventure, the, 169

Agha. *See Kāpi āgha*

Agra, capital of Hindustan, 4, 10; removal of the Court from, 4 *n.* 3; Mundy journeys to, 7, 8, 10; Shāh Jahān's entry into, 8; description of, 8

Ahmad I., Sultan of Turkey, imprisons A. Garraway, 14 *n.* 11; grandson of Sulaimān I., 195; his sons, 22 *n.* 1; appoints Mustafa his successor, 22 *n.* 1; Mundy sees, 33; his mosque at Constantin 33 *n.* 1, 35 *n.* 4; portents at of his reign, 39 *n.* 4; Cossac in his reign, 63 *n.* 1; his tre of the English, 177; number "virgins," 198; death of, xx. 22 *n.* 1, 178

Aiguebelette, Pindar precedes his attendants to, xlv, 117; Mundy dines at, 118; other spellings of the name, 115 *n.* 4, 118 *n.* 3
Aiguebelette, Lac d', abundance of fish in the, 118, 118 *n.* 1; Symonds' remarks on the, 230
Aiguebelette, Mont d', Pindar's party cross the, xlvi, 117, 118; steepness of the, 118, 118 *n.* 2; Symonds ascends the, 230
Aiguebelle, Pindar's party lodge at, xlv, 116; description of, 116 *n.* 2; Mundy's spelling of, 116, 116 *n.* 2; Symonds lodges at, 230; character of the country round, 230
'Ajemī-oghlān, 49 *n.* 4
Ak Palanka. *See* Bela Palanka
Alāu'ddīn III., confers insignia on Osmān I., 64 *n.* 1
Alba Graeca. *See* Belgrade
Albanian Alps, 79 *n.* 1
Alcadia, no English merchants at, 16
Alcazar, the, in Seville, xxi, xxi *n.* 4
Aleppo, xxiv, liv, 160, 173
Alexander the Great, 19 *n.* 2, 55, 154 *n.* 1, 210
Alexander III., Pope, inaugurates the ceremony of the marriage of the Adriatic, 96 *n.* 1
Alexandretta. *See* Scanderoon
Alexandria, Symonds travels to, 217 *n.* 1
Algarve, province, xxii, xxii *n.* 5
Algiers, 45 *n.* 3
Aliaga, confessor to Philip III., intrigues against the Duke of Lerma, 140 *n.* 2
Alicante, Mundy touches at, 15
Ali Sultān Khalīfeh. *See* Būrūn Kāsim
Alleppo Merchant, the, Mundy makes his third voyage to India in, xvi, xlii, lix, 10, 103, 103 *n.* 5
Alps, Pindar's party cross the, xliv, 112; towns among the, mean, xlv, 117
Ambassadors, in Constantinople, lv, 14 *n.* 11, 22 *n.* 1, 35 *n.* 2, 36, 36 *n.* 3, 37, 41, 41 *n.* 3, 43, 45 *n.* 6, 47 *n.* 3, 64, 65, 175, 180, 191, 196, 214; in Venice, xli, 93, 108 *n.* 6, 126, 126 *n.* 2; in Turin, xliv, 109; in England, 92 *n.* 3
Amboise, George d', Cardinal, minister of Louis XII., xix *n.* 3; the great bell at Rouen named after, xix *n.* 3
America, 6
Amphitheatre, at Verona, Mundy's description of, 101, 102; Sandys' description of, xlii, lix, 102, 103; Coryat's description of, 103 *n.* 4
Amsterdam, Mundy's voyage to, 9
Amurath IV. See Murād IV.
Amusements. *See* Pastimes
Anatolia, governor of, 62 *n.* 2
Ancre, Maréchal d', murder of, lv, 129, 129 *n.* 1; his house in Paris, 129 *n.* 1, 225
Andalusia, fertility of, xxii
Angel, The, inn at Sian, xliv, 109
Angerville, Pindar's party reach, xlvii, 123, 123 *n.* 6; road from Paris to, described, xlvii, 124
Antigonus, battle between Eumenes and, 154 *n.* 1
Antoninus, column of, at Rome, 196
Appendix, Mundy's, to his MS., 10; Mundy's, when added, lix, 10 *n.* 1
Apsley, Sir Allen, recommends Lawrence Spike, 42 *n.* 1
Aqua dulce. *See* Fresh Waters, The
Aquapulco, Mundy's intended voyage to, 6
Aqueduct at Constantinople, 189, 190; made by the Emperor Valentinian, 195; repaired by Sulaimān I., 195
Arabia, map of, in Mundy's MS., 6 *n.* 1, 30 *n.* 2
Ararat, mts., 19 *n.* 2
Arc, river, Pindar's party follow the, xlv, 115, 115 *n.* 3; rapidity of the, xlv, 115, 115 *n.* 3, 115 *n.* 4, 116 *n.* 2, 230, 230 *n.* 10, 231, 232; why so called, 115 *n.* 3
Arcadius, Emperor, his deeds commemorated on the Historical Pillar, 34 *n.* 2, 196 *n.* 2
Archangel, Mundy's travels to, 6, 9, 11
Archipelago, the Greek, 20, 167, 213, 214
Armada, the Spanish, xx *n.* 6
Armenians, at Constantinople, their churches, 25, 185; in Pindar's train, 43, 43 *n.* 4; occupations of the poorer class of, 76; intermarry with Bulgarians, xxxvi, 76; their spoliation of the Cordeliers, 199 *n.* 2
Arpajon (Châtres), road from Paris to, populous, xlvii, 124; Pindar's party lodge at, xlvii, 124; situation of, 123 *n.* 6, 124 *n.* 2; when so named, 124 *n.* 2

Arsenal, at Venice, the, Mundy's description of, xli, 93–97; other descriptions of, 93 *n.* 5, 94 *n.* 1, 95 *n.* 1, 97 *n.* 1; how guarded, 96
Artenay, Mundy's party pass through, xlvii, 123, 123 *n.* 6
Arundel, Thomas Howard, Earl of, his sons study at Padua, 100, 100 *n.* 1
Arz-ōda, Hall of audience, at Constantinople, 36; by whom erected, 36 *n.* 1; Tavernier's description of, 36 *n.* 1
Ascension Day, ceremonies in Venice on, xli, 95, 95 *n.* 3, 96 *n.* 1
Asia, map of, in Mundy's MS., 6 *n.* 1; the Hellespont divides, from Europe, 197
Asper, *aspero*, *aspre*, 77 *n.* 2, 81, 177, 186; value of an, 27, 81 *n.* 7
At-maidān, the, at Constantinople, 32, 34 *n.* 1; Sanderson's description of, 32 *n.* 3; Grimston's description of, 32 *n.* 3; Sandys' description of, 32 *n.* 3; column of serpents set up in, 33 *n.* 1; the Egyptian pyramid in, 33 *n.* 2; compared with Smithfield, 195; the ancient name for, 195
Augustins, Convent of, in Paris, 125 *n.* 5
Augustus Caesar (Octavius), besieges Salona, 147 *n.* 3; defeats Brutus and Cassius, 153, 154 *n.* 1
Austria, 68 *n.* 4, 201; Duchy of Milan ceded to, 105 *n.* 8; contends with France for the Valtellina, 153 *n.* 1
Avertpiller. *See* La Verpillière
Avigliana, Pindar's party lodge at, xliv, 111; castle at, 111, 111 *n.* 5; description of, 111 *n.* 4; siege of, 233
Avret Bazar, the, at Constantinople, 29, 34, 186, 190, 194; for what used, 34 *n.* 1, 34 *n.* 2, 196 *n.* 1; the Historical Column in, 196
Ayachapezi, the holy gate, 185
Ayamonte, Mundy goes to, xxii, 14, 24; situation of, xxii, 14 *n.* 4; figs and oil exported from, xxiii
Ayasophia. *See* S. Sophia

Babaeskeesee. *See* Eski Baba
Baden, Treaty of, effect of, on Milan, 105 *n.* 8
Badgers, in England, 5
Bairām, amusements at the feast of the, 58, 59; observance of the, 58 *n.* 2, 184
Bajazet. *See* Bāyazīd
Balkan, mountains, xxxi, 61; robbers lurk among the passes of, 61 *n.* 3; separate Bulgaria from Roumania, 209; other names for, 209
Baltic Sea, the, Mundy's voyage to, 9, 11
Banairaca, river, 204
Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, succeeded by Abbot, 136 *n.* 1
Bantam, East India Company's factory at, 162
Barbarossa, Frederick, defeated by the Venetians, 96 *n.* 1
Barbary Corsairs, in the Mediterranean, 16 *n.* 7, 171
Barbyses, river, 44 *n.* 4
Barcelona, market for pilchards at, 137 *n.* 6
Baretti. *See* Neuman and Baretti
Bargrave, Isaac, Dean of Canterbury, father of Robert Bargrave, 215 *n.* 2
Bargrave, Robert, his *Voyages and Journeys* (*Rawl. MS.* C. 799) referred to, *see* notes on pp. 48, 55, 56, 89, 90, 91, 96, 99, 137; extracts from his *Voyages and Journeys*, 215, 216; son of Isaac Bargrave, 215 *n.* 2
Barnes, Sir Thomas, 49 *n.* 3
Barton, Sir Edward, ambassador to the Grand Signior, his journey from Constantinople to Belgrade, 47 *n.* 3; first resident ambassador at Constantinople for the Levant Company, 171
Bāshās, grandees, 21 *n.* 6, 29, 36 *n.* 4, 49 *n.* 4, 64 *n.* 1; Mustafa deposed by the, 21; of Buda, 75; riches of the, at Constantinople, 186, 188, 189; houses of the, at Pera, 191
Basing House, Mundy's visit to, xvi
Bassano (Giacomo da Ponte), picture by, in the Louvre, 225
Bastille, the, 224
Batachin. *See* Batotschina
Baths, at Constantinople, 29, 37, 37 *n.* 2, 184, 190; Mundy's remarks on, in Turkey, xxxi, lv, 53, 54; Blount's remarks on, 53 *n.* 2; at Belgrade, xxxv, 73, 74; at Sophia, 152
Batotschina, Pindar's party dine at, xxix, xxxiv, 71; other spellings of the name, 71 *n.* 1; *palangha* at, 71 *n.* 1; robbers in the neighbourhood of, 71 *n.* 1; Des Hayes dines at, 203

Battacala (Bhatkal), settlement of factory at, 9
Baudier, Michel, of Languedoc, his work translated by Grimston, 25, 183 *n.* 2; full title and contents of his work, 183 *n.* 2; born in Languedoc, 183 *n.* 2. *See also* Grimston, Edward
Bavaria, 201
Bāyazid II., mosque of, at Constantinople, 35 *n.* 4; enlarges the *Tōp-khāna*, 39 *n.* 1; size of S. Sophia in the time of, 194; defeats Selim at Chorlu, 212
Bayonne, Mundy stays a year at, xv, xvii, 13, 24; Mundy's second visit to, 116 *n.* 5, 138, 139 *n.* 3, 145; Mundy's remarks on, xx; costume of the inhabitants of, described, xx; expulsion of the English from, xx
Bazistāns, markets, at Constantinople, 29, 37, 37 *n.* 3, 185, 186, 189, 190, 194; Mundy's description of, lv, 53, 54; various descriptions of, 53 *n.* 1; at Belgrade, xxxv, 73; at Adrianople, 211
Beamond, Farnam, travels in Pindar's train, 41; leaves Pindar at the Fresh Waters, 44; overtakes Pindar at Chorlu, 48
Beaulieu, on the Loire, 227
Beaumont, Mundy's description of, xlviii, 131; situation of, 131 *n.* 3, 222; Symonds' description of, 222; distance between Paris and, 222, 222 *n.* 2; character of the country surrounding, 222
Beauvais, Pindar's party dine at, xlviii, 131; description of, 131 *n.* 6, 221, 222; character of the country surrounding, 221; situation of, compared with Salisbury, 221
Beglerbeg (*bēgler-bēgi*), Bey of Beys, of Rumelia, 62, 62 *n.* 2, 152, 208, 211; sends a guard to Pindar, 66, 208; of Buda, transferred from Belgrade to, 201
Bela Palanka (Musa Palanka, Ak Palanka), Pindar's party re-inforced at, xxix, xxxiv, 68, 69; other names for, 68 *n.* 1, 205; Des Hayes halts at, 205
Belgrade, arrival of Pindar's party at, xxxv, l, 43 *n.* 4, 72; waggons hired from Constantinople to, xxxvi, 44; post road from Constantinople to, xxviii, xxix, xxx, 45 *n.* 6, 214; forests of, 48 *n.* 3; taken by Sulaimān the Magnificent, 52 *n.* 1, 74 *n.* 4, 149, 201, 201 *n.* 1; Pindar hires a house at, xxxvi, 72; floating mills at, xxxv, xlvi, 72, 72 *n.* 4, 149, 150 *n.* 1; Blount's remarks on, 72 *n.* 1, 149; Poullet's description of, 72 *n.* 1; abundance of fish at, xxxv, 73, 73 *n.* 1, 200; buildings at, xxxv, 73, 200, 200 *n.* 3; castle and fortress at, xxxv, 74, 74 *n.* 1, 74 *n.* 2, 149, 150, 151, 200; Busbequius' description of, 74 *n.* 1; ferry-boats at, xxxv, 75; boats at, for transport of salt, 75; ordnance at, xxxv, 75, 200; Pindar hires horses at, xxxvi, 75, 81; governor of, 75, 201; Pindar's party leave, xxxvi, 78, 201 *n.* 3; Poullet's remarks on the road from, to Sarajevo, 80 *n.* 5; time occupied in the journey between Valjevo and, 149, 149 *n.* 3; ancient names of, 149, 199; graveyard at, 149; Zindana tower at, 151; Des Hayes' description of, 199, 200, 201; route taken by Des Hayes to Constantinople from, 199 *n.* 1; compared with Constantinople, 199; inhabitants of, xxxv, lv, 201; description of the country around, 200; stations of the Orient Express between Constantinople and, xxviii, xxix; time occupied in the journey from Constantinople to, xxix, xxxv, xxxvii
Bell, Richard, his *Journal* (*Sloane MS.* 811) referred to, 15 *n.* 7, 16 *n.* 2, 17 *n.* 2, 17 *n.* 3; confined in the lazaretto at Leghorn, 17 *n.* 2
Belonius, his estimate of the number of doors in S. Sophia, 194
Bengal, 7, 10
Bergasse. *See* Lule Burgas
Bernay, Pindar's party dine at, xlviii, 132; Symonds halts at, 220, 220 *n.* 1; description of the country around, 220
Berry, province, 227, 228
Bessarabia, a portion of, called Bugdamia, 51 *n.* 1
Bey of Beys. *See* Beglerbeg
Béziers, in Languedoc, Des Hayes beheaded at, 199 *n.* 2
Biscay, province of, 138, 139, 139 *n.* 2, 139 *n.* 3, 142 *n.* 1
Biscina, ambassador at Venice from Savoy, 93 *n.* 4
Bishopsgate Street Without, Pindar's house in, l, 136 *n.* 3
Bithynia, 197
Bīyuk Chekméjé, Pindar's party encamp near, xxviii, xxx, 46, 47;

bridge at, xxx, 46, 46 *n.* 4, 215; other names for, 46 *n.* 4, 47 *n.* 3, 73 *n.* 4, 164, 213; Sulaimān rebuilds the bridge at, 195; Des Hayes dines at, 213

Blackamoor's Head, The, at S. Jean de Maurienne, 115

Black Notley, Richard Symonds born at, 217 *n.* 1, 218 *n.* 5

Black Sea, the, xxv, xxxiii, 20, 24, 27, 47 *n.* 4, 62, 149, 183, 187, 191, 195, 202; extent of, near Pompey's Pillar, 21; Sandys' description of, 197

Black Tower, the, on the shore of the Bosphorus, 197

Blackwall, coaches hired from, to Islington, xlix, 136

Blau, Otto, his *Reisen in Bosnien* referred to, 80 *n.* 4

Blount, Henry, his *Voyage into the Levant* referred to, *see* notes on pp. 21, 26, 47, 48, 49, 53, 54, 61, 62, 63, 69, 71, 72, 74, 78, 79, 86, 88; his route to Constantinople, 45 *n.* 6, 49 *n.* 4, 146 *n.* 3; Mundy quotes from his work, lvi, 11 *n.* 2, 146–157; full title and contents of his work, 146, 146 *n.* 2, 146 *n.* 5; account of, 146 *n.* 4

Boar, wild, flesh of, palatable, 20

Boats, at Belgrade, xxxv, 75; hired, from Calais to Dover, 134, 134 *n.* 2; hired, from Gravesend to Blackwall, xlix, 136; hired from Roanne to Orleans, xlvi, 120, 228, 228 *n.* 9; description of, at Roanne, 228

Bodleian Library, the only complete copy of Mundy's MS. at the, lvii, lxiii

Bodmin Priory, connection of the Mundys with, xiv

Boesbec, Auger Ghislin. *See* Busbequius

Bonny, Pindar's party pass, 121, 121 *n.* 6, 122 *n.* 1; a walled town, 227; description of the country from Briare to, 227

Bordeaux, 116 *n.* 5; Mundy passes through, 116 *n.* 5, 139

Bore, on the Seine, Mundy's description of, xix

Boromeo, Carolus, Cardinal of Milan, canonized, 106, 106 *n.* 7; buried in the Duomo, lv, 106, 107; description of his tomb, xliii, 106 *n.* 7, 107; Lithgow's opinion of, 106 *n.* 7

Borovaglava, plateau, Pindar's party reach the, xxxix, 84; other names for, 84 *n.* 1

Bosna, river, 82 *n.* 2

Bosna Serai. *See* Sarajevo

Bosnia, mountains of, xxxvi

Bosnia, *pāshā* of, 81 *n.* 6; Sarajevo the capital of, 148, 148 *n.* 2

Bosnians, quarrel between the Venetians and, xxxvii, xxxviii, 81, 81 *n.* 6

Bosphorus, the, 183, 193, 194; extent of, 197; castle on the shore of, 197

Boulogne, Pindar's party lodge at, xlviii, 132; description of, 132, 132 *n.* 8, 219; country around, compared with Cornwall, 219

Bourg-la-Reine, Pindar's party reach, xlvii, 124; Mundy's and Coryat's names for, 124, 124 *n.* 5

Bourgoin, Pindar's party dine at, xlvi, 118; called Bolognie by Symonds, 229, 229 *n.* 4; country from, to Pont de Beauvoisin described, 229

Bramant, Pindar's party lodge at, 115

Brampore (Burhānpur), 8

Breda, Treaty of, xvi, lix

Brenta, river, 98 *n.* 5; locks on the, 98, 98 *n.* 6; country houses on banks of the, xlii, 98, 99 *n.* 1

Brescia, Mundy's description of, xliii, 104; sufferers from goître at, xliii, 104; other descriptions of, 104 *n.* 3; arms made at, 104 *n.* 3; subject to the Venetians, 104 *n.* 3; situation of, 104 *n.* 4

Brett, Sir Alexander, testifies to the efficiency of Francis Lowe, 45 *n.* 3

Briare, Pindar's party pass, 121, 121 *n.* 8, 122 *n.* 1; barrenness of the country around, 227

Brioni, I., Pindar's party sail past, xl, 89, 89 *n.* 3

Brissac, Louis XIII. reconciled with Marie de Medici at, 128 *n.* 4

British Museum, the, copies of portions of Mundy's voyages at, lviii, lx, lxi

Brittany, Mundy's visit to, lii, 143, 143 *n.* 7

Brutus, defeated by Augustus Caesar, 153, 154, 154 *n.* 1

Bucentaur, Mundy's description of the, xli, 95, 96; destruction of the, 96 *n.* 1

Buckingham, Marquis of, recommends Sir John Eyre to the Levant Co., 179; incapacity of his nomi-

nee, 180, 181; his influence in Eyre's favour, 182; Gainsford's book dedicated to, 187 *n.* 1
Buda, xxxiii, 65, 85 *n.* 4, 150 *n.* 1, 201, 204; *Bāshā* of, 75
Buffaloro, 107, 107 *n.* 2
Bugdamia or Bugdania, 51; district designated by, 51 *n.* 1
Bulgaria, 61, 62 *n.* 1, 69 *n.* 5, 77 *n.* 2, 151, 201, 214; how separated from Servia, 204, 209; compared with Servia, 206; Christian population of, 207
Bulgarians, xxxvi 43 *n.* 4; costumes of the, lv, 76, 77, 77 *n.* 1, 207, 216; ornaments of the, 76, 77, 77 *n.* 1; food of, 77, 77 *n.* 2, 206, 207; dances of, 77, 78; language of, 78, 78 *n.* 1, 207, 207 *n.* 1, 216
Bull-fights, at Valladolid, 141
Burgas. *See* Lule Burgas
Burnt Column, the, 34, 34 *n.* 3, 35; description of, 35 *n.* 2; erected by Constantine the Great, 196, 196 *n.* 3; relics beneath, 196 *n.* 3
Būrūn Kāsim, ambassador from Shāh 'Abbās to the Grand Signior, lv, 65, 65 *n.* 1; his reception at Constantinople, 65
Busbequius, A. G. (Boesbec, Auger Ghislin), his *Travels into Turkey* referred to, *see* notes on pp. 21, 34, 35, 51, 52, 54, 60, 62, 68, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 77, 78
Bussoleno, Pindar's party dine at, xliv, 112; a halting-place for Mt. Cenis, 112 *n.* 1, 233 *n.* 7
Byzantium. *See* Constantinople

Cadiz, Mundy's voyage to, 14, 24
Cadiz, the Bay of, 14 *n.* 1
Caesar, Julius, his engagement with Pompey, 153, 154, 154 *n.* 1
Caique, a boat, 28, 38 *n.* 2
Cairo, Osmān's intended removal to, 22 *n.* 1; Blount's voyage to, 146, 157 *n.* 4
Calabria, Duke of, son of René of Sicily, 110 *n.* 1
Calais, Pindar's journey from Paris to, xlviii, 130, 131 *n.* 6; Pindar's party lodge at, 133; description of, xlviii, 133, 133 *n.* 3; fortifications of, xlviii, 133, 133 *n.* 3, 133 *n.* 7; churches at, xlviii, 133, 133 *n.* 5; Pindar's departure from, delayed, xlviii, 134; mole at, 134; Pindar's party cross to Dover from, xlviii, xlix, 134, 136; packet-boat service from Dover to, 218; cost of passage from Dover to, 218; description of the country round, 219; Symonds' expenses to Paris from, 222, 223; "walks" in, compared with those at Turin, 234
Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, referred to, 15 *n.* 2, 23 *n.* 4, 168
Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, referred to, *see* notes on pp. 13, 42, 44, 45, 92, 139, 161, 168, 182
Calvaire, Mount, nunnery in Paris, 226
Cambrai, 165
Cambridgeshire, compared with the country around Poix, 220
Camburgas. *See* Kumburgas
Camden Society, Publications of the, Symonds' *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army*, referred to, 217 *n.* 1
Camels, 8
Campbell, John, confined in the lazaretto at Leghorn, 17 *n.* 2
Campi Philippici. *See* Philippick Fields
Canals, in Venice, 98
Candia, Pindar hires a house at Venice of the Governor of, 91; taken from Venice by the Turks, 91 *n.* 6
Candyssh, Thomas, his portrait in Mundy's MS., 11 *n.* 2
Cannaregio, xli, 91, 91 *n.* 3
Canterbury, Pindar's party lodge at, xlix, 135; Mundy's description of the cathedral and city of, xlix, 135; Symonds posts to Dover from, 218
Canterbury, Archbishop of, Pindar entertained by the, xlix, 136
Canton, river, 9
Capello, Girolamo, governor of Candia, 91 *n.* 6
Cape Merchant (supracargo), 8
Caphila, Mundy's journey with a, 8, 10
Capi Agha. *See Kāpi āgha*
Capoochee Bashee. *See Kapiji-bāshi*
Cappee Keoy. *See* Kapuli
Caramoussal, Carmousal, Caramussale, a Turkish merchantman, 38 *n.* 3
Caratch, a poll-tax at Constantinople, by whom paid, 26, 186
Cardinal's Hat, The, at Vercelli, xliv, 109
Caristran. *See* Karistran

Caroches, 129 *n.* 2; hired at Padua for Pindar's party, xlii, 100; definition of, 100 *n.* 3
Carpathian, mountains, 68 *n.* 4
Cassanpasha Palanca. *See* Hassan Pasha's Palanka
Cassius, defeat of, 154, 154 *n.* 1
Castello, Vincentio, a Greek, a member of Pindar's train, 43; left at Paris to wait on Dominico, xlviii, 42 *n.* 5, 130, 130 *n.* 4
Castile, 139, 139 *n.* 3
Castleman, Richard, travels in Pindar's train, 41; made free of the Levant Company, 41 *n.* 8
Castro Marin, Mundy's visit to, 14; situation of, xxii, 14 *n.* 5; figs and oil exported from, xxiii
Cat and the Bell, The, at Lodi, xliii, 106
Catch, a, hired from Calais for Pindar's party, xlviii, xlix, 134; definition of, 134 *n.* 1
Cathedrals, at Seville, xxi; at Milan, xlii, 106, 107; at Paris, *see* Notre Dame; at Canterbury, xlix, 135
Catherine, the Infanta, wife of Charles Emanuel of Savoy, 110 *n.* 5
Caucasus, mountains, 19 *n.* 2
Cavalcaselle, Pindar's party reach, xlii, 103; distance of, from Venice, 103, 103 *n.* 7
Cavaletta, the, inn at Verona, xlii, 101, 101 *n.* 5
Cayalucke. *See* Kialik
Caymalcam. *See Kā'immakan*
Cenis, mt., 112 *n.* 1, 112 *n.* 2; Gainsford's description of, 112 *n.* 3, 113 *n.* 5; Mundy's account of the crossing of, xlv, 113, 114; Lake at the top of, xlv, 113, 113 *n.* 2, 233; house built for Christine of France on, xlv, 113; height of, xlv, 113, 113 *n.* 2; descent of, xlv, 113 *n.* 2, 114 *n.* 1, 148, 232, 233; inns in the district of, poor, 115 *n.* 6
Certificates, of efficiency, from Pindar to his escort, xxxiv, 69; of health, xl, xli, 88, 90, 230, 233, 234, 235
Césy, Monsieur de, French ambassador at Constantinople, xxvii, 43 *n.* 1
Cettina, river, 84 *n.* 1, 84 *n.* 7, 85 *n.* 1, 85 *n.* 4; Pindar's party cross the, xxxix, 85
Chambery, Pindar's attendants lodge at, xlv, 116, 117; description of, xlv, 116 *n.* 4, 116 *n.* 6, 117, 117 *n.* 2, 117 *n.* 5, 117 *n.* 6, 230; language of the inhabitants of, 230
Champion country, open ground, xxx, 50 *n.* 2, 60, 60 *n.* 1, 153, 220, 222
Change Alley, Garraway's Coffee House in, 14 *n.* 11
Chapeau Rouge, Le, at Roanne, 228
Chapman, John, provisional ambassador at Constantinople till Roe's arrival, 41 *n.* 3, 181
Chardin, Sir John, his account of the Levant Co. quoted, 172–174
Charles I. of England, Peter Wyche sent to Spain by, 163; George Sandys, a gentleman of the Court of, 192 *n.* 3
Charles V., Emperor, 105 *n.* 8; improves Valladolid, 140 *n.* 1
Charles VI., of France, Pont S. Michel built in the reign of, 125 *n.* 1
Charles Emanuel I., Duke of Savoy, 109, 109 *n.* 4; family of, 110, 110 *n.* 5, 110 *n.* 6; his five sons, 110, 110 *n.* 6; meets Pindar on Mt. Cenis, 113; his heir, 116 *n.* 1
Charleton, Mr, marries Anne Wyche, 164
Chatal-Burgas. *See* Lule Burgas
Chateauneuf-sur-Loire, Pindar's party pass, 122, 122 *n.* 4
Chatham, 135, 169
Châtres. *See* Arpajon
Chawush, a, overtakes Pindar's train, xxxiii, 65, 65 *n.* 3; leaves Pindar at Pirot, xxxiv, 66; is overtaken by Pindar, xxxiv, 70
Chelmsford, Mundy passes through, 143; spelling of the name, 143 *n.* 3
Chequeen. *See* Sequin
Chequers, The, at Canterbury, xlix, 135; mentioned by Chaucer, 135 *n.* 2
Cherries, plentiful, at Valjevo, xxxvi, 78
Cherso, I., xl, 88, 88 *n.* 5, 88 *n.* 6, 88 *n.* 7
Cheylas, compared with Janissaries, 43 *n.* 2
Chickin. *See* Sequin
China, Mundy's voyage to, lviii, 1, 2, 3 *n.* 1, 6, 8, 9, 11
Chios. *See* Scio
Chirmenli. *See* Hermanli
Chishull, his *Travels in Turkey* referred to, 31 *n.* 2, 33 *n.* 1, 33 *n.* 2

Chiswell, Richard, his *Travels* (*Add. MS.* 10623) referred to, *see* notes on pp. 89, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99
Chivasso, Pindar's party lodge at, xliv, 109
Chorlu, Pindar's party arrive at, xxviii, xxx, 47, 47 *n.* 4; Poullet's description of, 47 *n.* 4; other spellings of, 47 *n.* 4; three of Pindar's train rejoin at, 48; Blount passes through, 156; site of a battle between Selim I. and Bāyazīd II., 212; tortoises at, 212; Bargrave's description of the country around, 215, 216
Christine, of France, marries the Prince of Piedmont, xlv, 110, 110 *n.* 4, 113, 234, 234 *n.* 4
Christopher, The, at Beauvais, 131
Churchman, John, builds the old Custom House, 59 *n.* 1
Cider, made in Jersey, 144
Cilicia, straits of, 19 *n.* 2
Clarke, Dr E. D., his *Travels* referred to, 44 *n.* 4, 46 *n.* 2, 46 *n.* 4, 47 *n.* 3, 47 *n.* 4, 48 *n.* 2; his route from Constantinople to Adrianople, 45 *n.* 6
Clarke (Clearke), John, travels in Pindar's train, 42, 43; released from quarantine, xl, 87, 91 *n.* 4; disinfected, xl, 87; hires a house at Venice for Pindar, xl, xli, 91
Clissa (Klīsh), Castle, situation of, xxxix, 85, 85 *n.* 4, 85 *n.* 5; history of, 85 *n.* 4; taken from the Venetians by the Turks, 148; strength of, 148, 148 *n.* 1
Clocks, in Turkey, Mundy's remarks on, 74; Poullet's remarks on, 74 *n.* 3
Coaches, hired, from Orleans to Paris, xlvii, 123; hired, from Paris to Calais, xlviii, 130; convey Pindar's party from Blackwall to Islington, xlix, 136
Coins. *See s.v.* Asper; Crown; Ecu; Lira; Piastre; Sol
Coke, Thomas, in charge of the Earl of Arundel's sons, 100 *n.* 1
Colare. *See* Kolar
Colchester, Mundy sent to, by Richard Wyche, li, 143, 145
Cole, Mundy's journey from Agra to, 7
Colossus, the, at Constantinople, 196
Columns, at Constantinople, the Serpent, 33, 33 *n.* 1, 185, 195, 195 *n.* 4; the Egyptian, 33, 33 *n.* 2, 195; the Historical, 34, 34 *n.* 2, 196; the Burnt, 34, 35, 35 *n.* 2, 196, 196 *n.* 3
Constance, Thomas, joins Pindar's train at Padua, 101
Constantine the Great, 29, 32 *n.* 1, 33 *n.* 2, 34 *n.* 2, 35 *n.* 2, 184; builds and enriches Constantinople, 189, 192, 193; sets up the Burnt Column, 196 *n.* 3; banner of, xxi *n.* 3
Constantine's Column. *See* Columns, the Burnt
Constantine's Palace, wild beasts at, 37, 190, 196; descriptions of, 37 *n.* 6
Constantinople, Mundy's voyage to, xv, xxiii, liii, 3, 7, 10, 14–21, 24; Mundy's journey overland to London from, xv, xxvii–xlix, 7, 10, 41–136; events at, during Mundy's time, xxiv, xxv, lv, 21, 22, 23; Mundy's remarks on, xxiv, xxv, xxvi, 25, 30–40; Sandys' description of, 21, 26, 192–198; Grimston's description of, 25, 26, 183–186; Gainsford's description of, 27–30, 187–192; various descriptions of, 21 *n.* 1; earthquakes, fires, and plague at, xxiv, xxv, 39, 40, 190, 192; ambassadors at, xxvi, lv, 23, 36, 41, 64, 65, 175–182, 196, 214; route to Belgrade from, xxxvii, 45 *n.* 6, 46 *n.* 2, 48 *n.* 4, 60, 199–214, 215; English merchants at, 22, 44, 164, 176, 177; compared with London, 188, 191, 192
Constantinople, river of. *See* Dardanelles
Contumacia, certificate of, granted to Pindar's party, 88, 90; *Far la*, to perform quarantine, 88 *n.* 2; Bargrave's allusion to, 90 *n.* 1
Copper, contract of Richard Wyche and others for, xvi, l, li, 138, 139, 139 *n.* 6, 161; suit at Valladolid regarding, 139
Coprian, Signor, travels in Pindar's train, 42
Cordeliers, the, Des Hayes sent to obtain restitution for, 199 *n.* 2
Cornwall, Mundy's native county, xvi, lii, lvii, lxi, 2 *n.* 5, 13, 143; trade of, in pilchards and tin, xvii; Mundy's description of, lix, lxii; compared with the country round Boulogne, 219
Corpus Christi, feast of, 141
Corvasco, 106 *n.* 5

Coryat, Thomas, his *Crudities* referred to, *see* notes on pp. 90, 91, 92, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111, 113, 114, 115, 117, 118, 119, 121, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133; his style compared with Mundy's, lvii
Cosne, Pindar's party pass, 121, 121 *n.* 1, 121 *n.* 4, 122 *n.* 1; Symonds' description of, 227
Cossacks, their depredations, xxxiii, 62, 63, 63 *n.* 1
Cotroman, builds the castle at Sarajevo, xxxviii, 81 *n.* 4
Coulon, Le Sieur, his *Fidele Conducteur pour le Voyage de France* referred to, *see* notes on pp. 121, 122, 125, 126, 127, 130, 131, 132, 133; his *Fidele Conducteur pour le Voyage d'Espagne* referred to, 145 *n.* 6; his *Rivieres de France* referred to, *see* notes on pp. 117, 118, 120, 122, 131, 144
Courten (Curteene), Sir William, Mundy takes service under, xvi, lix, 8; sends a fleet to India and China, 8
Court Minutes of the East India Co., referred to, lii, 145 *n.* 1, 159 *n.* 3, 160 *n.* 4
Courtney, J. S., his *Guide to Penzance* referred to, lxii
Covel, Dr John, his Diary referred to, *see Early Voyages in the Levant*; his route from Constantinople, 45 *n.* 6
Crema, in Venetian territory, xliii, 105, 106 *n.* 5
Croatia, 68 *n.* 4
Crown, The, at Pisieux, 131
Crown, The, at Pont Remy, xlviii, 131
Crowns, coins, value of, 130, 228
Cunny, John, a member of Pindar's train, 43
Currants, produced at Zante, 18, 18 *n.* 3; the Levant Company's trade in, 159, 161
Curut Chisme. *See* Qūrut Chesme
Custom House, the, in London, situation of, 59 *n.* 1; burned down, 59 *n.* 1; rebuilt, 59 *n.* 1
Custom House Quay, 38, 59, 59 *n.* 1
Cydarius, river, 44 *n.* 4, 195
Czabaoz, taken by Sulaimān the Magnificent, 52 *n.* 1

Dallam, Thomas, his Diary referred to. *See Early Voyages in the Levant*
Dalmatia, 81 *n.* 6; Pindar's party pass the shores of, xl, 88; Blount's voyage to, 146, 147
Dalmatian Alps, 84 *n.* 1
Dantzic, Mundy's journey to, 6, 9, 11; Mundy's description of, 10
Danube, river, 71, 71 *n.* 5, 71 *n.* 6, 74, 74 *n.* 1, 75; abundance of fish in the, xxxv, 73, 200; other names for the, 149, 149 *n.* 7; Blount's description of the, 149; tributaries of the, 149, 150 *n.* 1, 201; peculiarity of the current of the, xxxv, 149, 150, 150 *n.* 1; water mills on the, 72, 73, 149; clearness of the water of the, 150, 150 *n.* 2; how far navigable, 201; Des Hayes' remarks on the, 200, 201, 202
Dardanelles, The (river of Constantinople), 20 *n.* 2, 20 *n.* 3; width of, 197; castle on the shores of, 197; *see also s.v.* Hellespont
Dardanelli, castles, guard Constantinople, 157, 157 *n.* 2
Darius, King of Persia, defeated at Issus, 19 *n.* 2
Davis, Cary, travels in Pindar's train, 41; leaves Pindar at Kūchuk Chekméjé, 46; with Pindar's train in Paris, 46 *n.* 3; accompanies Mundy to the Louvre, etc., xlvii, 124
Davis, Henry, Mundy travels to Spain with, l, 138, 138 *n.* 3; delivers letters to the Levant Company, 138 *n.* 3
Davis, Captain John, Mundy serves, as cabin-boy, xvii, xviii, 10, 13, 14; perhaps the recusant, son of Wm. Davis, 13 *n.* 5
Davis, Captain John, of Limehouse, a servant of the East India Company, 13 *n.* 5
Davis, Captain John, of Sandridge, explorer, 13 *n.* 5
Davis, Rice, Welshman, member of Pindar's train, 43
Davis, William, of "Gracious Street," father of John Davis, 13 *n.* 5
De Beauveau, Henri, his *Relation Journalière* referred to, 85 *n.* 4, 88 *n.* 3
Deccan, the, 8
Decize, Pindar's party lodge outside, xlvi, 120, 228 *n.* 5; description of, 120, 120 *n.* 6
Deems, John, member of Pindar's train, 43
Delhi, capital of Hindustan, 4; removal of the Court from, 4 *n.* 3

Della Valle, Pietro, his *Voyages* referred to, *see* notes on pp. 20, 21, 23, 31, 32, 33, 37, 38, 39, 40, 53, 63, 64, 75
Delphi, the Column of Serpents brought from, 195 *n.* 4
Delrosse, Jacques, builds the Luxembourg, 126 *n.* 3
Denia, Marquis of. *See* Lerma, Cardinal Duke of
Denmark, Mundy's travels in, 1; Des Hayes' mission to, 199 *n.* 2
Derlēnd, pass, 61 *n.* 2
Des Hayes, Louis, Baron de Courmemin, holds office under Louis XIII., 199 *n.* 2; his mission to the East, 199 *n.* 2; his route from Belgrade to Constantinople, xxxi, 45 *n.* 6, 199 *n.* 1, 214; his escort from Nisch to Adrianople, 67 *n.* 2; his remarks on the current of the Danube, 150 *n.* 1; returns to France, 199 *n.* 2; sent on other missions, 199 *n.* 2; arrest and execution of, 199 *n.* 2; full title of his *Voiage de Levant*, 199; editions of his work, 199 *n.* 3; extracts from his *Voiage*, *see* Appendix F, pp. 199–216; his *Voiage* referred to, *see* notes on pp. 43, 46, 47, 49, 51, 52, 54, 60, 61, 62, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75
Diana, statue of, in the Louvre, 126, 127, 127 *n.* 1
Dictionnaire Historique, Le Grand, referred to, 110 *n.* 6, 144 *n.* 1, 144 *n.* 2
Dictionary of National Biography, referred to, 14 *n.* 11, 109 *n.* 7, 126 *n.* 2, 146 *n.* 4, 163 *n.* 4, 178, 179, 187 *n.* 1, 192 *n.* 3, 215 *n.* 2, 217 *n.* 1
Dieppe, Mundy crosses from Dover to, l, 116 *n.* 5, 138, 138 *n.* 4, 139 *n.* 3, 145
Dilly. *See* Delhi
Dinaric Alps, 79 *n.* 1
Diocletian, Spalato built within his palace precincts, 86 *n.* 3, 147
Dniester, river, Caspar Gratiani perishes crossing the, 51 *n.* 3
Dogliana, mountains, location of the, 83 *n.* 5; country between Sarajevo and the, 148; compared with the Alps, 148, 148 *n.* 2
D'Oksza, Th., his *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* referred to, 64 *n.* 1
Doljanca or Doljani, river, 83 *n.* 5
Dollar, value of a, 100, 100 *n.* 4
Dolphin, The, at Poix, 131
Dominico, Signor, Pindar's dragoman, 42; a Greek, 42 *n.* 5; taken ill in Paris, xlviii, 42 *n.* 5, 130; recommended to the Levant Co. by Pindar, 42 *n.* 5; appointed secretary to Sir John Eyre, 42 *n.* 5; his services refused by Eyre, 42 *n.* 5; writes a certificate for Pindar's escort, 69
Domuz-dere, a village, 195
Dora Riparia, river, 233, 233 *n.* 5
Dos Hermanas, oil-mills at, xxii; situation of, xxii, xxii *n.* 2
Dover, passage from Calais to, xlviii, xlix, 134, 134 *n.* 4, 136; harbour and pier at, 134, 134 *n.* 5, 218, 218 *n.* 3; inns at, 134, 218; Mundy halts at, on the way to Spain, l, 138; Symonds' journey from, to Turin, 217–235
Dowlany Hills, Pindar's party ascend the, 83, 84; what heights intended by, 83 *n.* 5; steepness of the, 83, 83 *n.* 6
Downing, Captain Joshua, commander of the *Royall Merchant*, xxiii, 14, 167, 168; account of, 14 *n.* 10, 168–170; inspector of cordage at Woolwich, 168; inspector at Chatham dockyard, 169; commissioner of the Fleet at Portsmouth, 169; his "Notes on the Navy," 169; unpopularity of, 169; overworked, 169; applies for his discharge, 169; illness and death of, 169, 170; his family, 170; last reference to, 170
Downing, Joshua, son of Captain Joshua Downing, 170
Downing, Martha, daughter of Joshua Downing, 170
Dragoman, a Christian village, 206; Des Hayes misses the road to, 206
Dragomans (interpreters). *See* Dominico; Gratiani, Caspar
Drake, Sir Francis, his portrait in Mundy's MS., 11 *n.* 2
Drapers' Company, the, the Garraways, freemen of, 14 *n.* 11
Drave, river, 75 *n.* 3
Dreadnought, the, 169
Drina, river, 79 *n.* 4, 80 *n.* 1, 80 *n.* 3; Pindar's party ferried over the, xxxvii, 80
Drubbing, a punishment for offenders in Turkey, 57; illustration of, 55, 58
Ducat, of Venice, value of a, 92, 92 *n.* 1

Due Torri, the, at Verona, 101 *n.* 5
Du Loir, Le Sieur, his *Voyages* referred to, 36 *n.* 3, 36 *n.* 4, 37 *n.* 1, 38 *n.* 2, 40 *n.* 1, 52 *n.* 5, 56 *n.* 3, 88 *n.* 3
Dumont, Le Sieur, his *New Voyage to the Levant* referred to, *see* notes on pp. 26, 33, 52, 53, 56, 57, 111, 113, 115 and 117
Dunkirk, Bargrave travels from Constantinople to, 215
Duny, river. *See* Danube
Duomo of Milan. *See* Cathedrals
Dutch, the, lose ships in a storm, 169
Du Verdier, his *Voyage de France* referred to, *see* notes on pp. 115, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 130, 131, 132
Duvno Polje, 84 *n.* 5
Dwina, river, Mundy's intended journey up the, 6

Eagle, the, Sir John Eyre's goods laden on, 181
Eagle and Horn, the, at Malegnano, xliii, 106
Early Voyages to the Levant referred to, *see* notes on pp. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 46, 47, 48, 49, 52, 164
Earthquakes, at Zante, 18 *n.* 3, 19; at Constantinople, 23 *n.* 3, 29, 39, 190
East India Company, the, Mundy's petition to the Directors of, lii; Sir Henry Garraway, a Director of, liii, 14 *n.* 11; Clement and Job Harby, Directors of, liii; Sir Morris Abbot, Governor of, 15 *n.* 1; Mundy entertained as factor by, xvi, l, lii, liii, liv, 8, 144, 144 *n.* 6, 145 *n.* 1; connection of Richard Wyche, senior, with, 159, 161; connection of the family of Richard Wyche with, 162, 164, 165; compared with the Levant Company, 172; rise of the, 172; records of, referred to, *see Court Minutes; Factory Records*
East Indies, the, Mundy's voyages to, liv, lxi, 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
East Sea. *See* Baltic Sea
Ecus (French Crowns), 120, 120 *n.* 3, 134
Edward, a footman, a member of Pindar's train, 43
Edward the Black Prince, tomb of, in Canterbury Cathedral, 135
Egypt, Blount's voyage to, 146, 156; Sandys' travels in, 192 *n.* 3; Constantine's Column brought from, 193
Elizabeth, Queen of England, sends emissaries to Turkey, 171; inaugurates the Levant Company, 171, 172
Ellis, Edward, emissary to Murād III., 171
Emanuell, a Greek, travels in Pindar's train, 43
England, 5, 8; Mundy's travels in, xvi, 1, 9, 10, 11
Englefield, Sir Francis, his *Travels* (*Rawl. MS.* D. 197) referred to, 119 *n.* 5, 125 *n.* 5, 128 *n.* 3, 129 *n.* 4, 138 *n.* 4
English, the, expelled from Gascony, xx
English Channel, xlviii
English merchants, their life at Constantinople, xxv, 22; at Constantinople, reside at Pera, xxviii, 22 *n.* 2, 44; at Leghorn and in the Islands of the Mediterranean, 16, 17 *n.* 1
Ensigns and Flags, Turkish, 65
Eski Baba, Pindar's party pass by, xxviii, 48; other spellings of the name, 48 *n.* 4; Des Hayes halts at, 212; country between Adrianople and, described, xxx
Essex, gates in, compared with doors in Picardy, 220
Etampes, Pindar's party dine at, xlvii, 123, 123 *n.* 6, 124
Eumenes, battle between Antigonus and, 154 *n.* 1; death of, 154 *n.* 1
Europe, map of, in Mundy's MS., 6 *n.* 1, 11 *n.* 2, 146 *n.* 1; Mundy's travels in, 1, 7, 9, 10, 11 *n.* 2; Bargrave's travels in, 215 *n.* 2
Europeans, unpopularity of, at Sarajevo, xxxvii, 81
Eurydice, lamented by Orpheus, 152, 152 *n.* 5, 209
Euxine. *See* Black Sea
Evagrius, his estimate of the dimensions of S. Sophia, 194
Evan. *See* Ivan
Evliya Efendi, his *Travels in Europe* referred to, *see* notes on pp. 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40
Expedition, the, Mundy sails on, for Surat, xvi, liv, lvii, 7
Eyre, Edward, nephew of Sir John Eyre, 182
Eyre, Sir John, son of Sir Willi Eyre, 179; recommended as

bassador by Buckingham, 179; the Levant Company compelled to appoint as ambassador, 179, 180; Dominico chosen as secretary for, and refused by, 42 *n.* 5; succeeds Pindar at Constantinople, xxvi, 23, 23 *n.* 6, 41, 42 *n.* 5, 179, 180, 181; pays his respects to the Grand Signior, 36; his incapacity and unpopularity, 181; his conduct complained of, 181; is recalled to England, 23 *n.* 6, 41 *n.* 3, 181; his defence, 181; his claims referred to the Privy Council, 182; death of, 182

Eyre, Sir William, of Great Chauldfield, Peccasod, father of Sir John Eyre, 179

Factory Records, Surat, referred to, 165 *n.* 1

Falkland, Lord, a friend of George Sandys, 192 *n.* 3

Falmouth, Mundy's voyages to and from, xvi, 11, 145; an important seaport in the 17th century, xvii, xxvi

Fanfani, Pietro, his *Vocabolario* referred to, 88 *n.* 2

Fardles, of indigo, 8; of saltpetre, 8

Fasana, Canale di, Pindar's party pass through the, xl, 89, 89 *n.* 4

Ferdinand II., Emperor of Germany, ordnance taken from, by the Turks, 75, 150, 150 *n.* 3

Feria, Duke of, governor of Milan, Pindar exchanges visits with, xliii, 106; death of, 106 *n.* 5

Ferronerie, Rue de la, Henri IV. murdered in the, 129, 129 *n.* 2; situation of, 129 *n.* 2

Feu de France, Le, at Lyons, 235

Filibe. *See* Philippopolis

Finch, Sir John, 49 *n.* 3

Finland, 11

Fires, at Constantinople, xxiv, 29, 39, 40, 190

Fish, abundance of, at Scanderoon, 20; at Belgrade, xxxv, 73, 73 *n.* 1

Fisher, Thomas, presents a copy of Mundy's MS. to the India Office, lxi

Florence, 17; Duke of, 17 *n.* 1

Forde (Foord), Mr, chaplain at Constantinople, 175; a successor requested in place of, 175

Fountains, number of, at Constantinople, 25, 184; erected by Turks for travellers, 216

France, Mundy's travels in, lxi, 1, 116 *n.* 5, 119–134, 138, 139 *n.* 3, 139 *n.* 4; map of, in Mundy's MS., 116 *n.* 5, 121 *n.* 8; 122 *n.* 5, 139 *n.* 1; how divided from Savoy, 118; contends with Austria for the Valtellina, 153 *n.* 1; Symonds' notes on, 217 *n.* 1

Francis I. of France, founds the port of Havre, xviii *n.* 4

Francis de Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, marries Margaret of Savoy, 110 *n.* 5; death of, 110 *n.* 5

Francis of Roxas and Sandwal. *See* Lerma, Cardinal, Duke of

Françoise-Catherine, of Savoy, a nun, 110 *n.* 5

Franks, the, quarrel of the Bosnians with, xxxvii, xxxviii, 81

Freeman, John, recommended as Consul at Smyrna to succeed Greene, 44 *n.* 6

Freeman, Ralph, member of the Levant Company, 42 *n.* 5

Freight, charges for, on the *Royall Merchant*, 166, 167

Fremlen, William, representative of the East India Company at Agra, 7; sends Mundy from Agra to Surat, 8

French crowns. *See* Ecus

Frenchmen, six, accompany Pindar's train, xxvii, 43; the six, travel in carts, 44; the six, hire a boat from Spalato, xl, 88

Fresh waters, the, near Pera, xxviii, 44, 44 *n.* 4, 47 *n.* 3, 48 *n.* 1

Frith, a hurdle, 68, 68 *n.* 2

Fumahone, at mouth of Canton R., 9

Gabella. *See* Aiguebelle

Gabelletta. *See* Aiguebelette

Gabinian way, the, a pass over the Prologh Mts., 84 *n.* 1

Gainsford, Thomas, Mundy quotes from his *Glory of England*, lvi, 27–30; Mundy's style compared with that of, lvii; his *Glory of England* referred to, see notes on pp. 3, 18, 20, 27, 39, 43, 50, 51, 62, 63, 65, 67, 99, 104, 112, 113, 115, 116, 121; his description of Constantinople, 27–30, 187–192; full title of the work of, 187 *n.* 1; epitome of the life of, 187 *n.* 1

Galata, a suburb of Constantinople, xxvii, 25, 29, 31 *n.* 1, 38, 38 *n.* 1, 44 *n.* 4, 57, 185, 215; English merchants from, escort Pindar,

xxvii, 44, 46, 47, 172; description of, 190, 196, 197; inhabitants of, 190
Galland, Antoine, his *Journal* referred to, 64 *n.* 1
Galleass, Galliass, Galliegross, at Pola, xli, 89; description of a, 89, 89 *n.* 5, 89 *n.* 6; built at the arsenal at Venice, 95 *n.* 1; of State, *see* Bucentaur
Galleons, Spanish, off Cape St Vincent, 16
Galleys, built at the arsenal at Venice, 93, 95 *n.* 1; sails of, made by women, 94, 94 *n.* 1; Venetian, ply between Spalato and Venice, 147
Gallipoli, 157
Ganges, river, Mundy's journey to the, 10
Garda, lake, ships on, xlii, 104; extent of, 104, 104 *n.* 1
Garraway, Anthony, merchant in Constantinople, 14 *n.* 11
Garraway, Arthur, a prisoner in Constantinople, 14 *n.* 11
Garraway family, the, account of, 14 *n.* 11
Garraway, Sir Henry, son of Sir Wm. Garraway, a director of the East India Company, liii; freeman of the Drapers' Company, 14 *n.* 11; Lord Mayor of London, 14 *n.* 11; director of the Levant Company, 14 *n.* 11, 42 *n.* 5
Garraway, James, passenger on the *Royall Merchant*, xxiii, 14; probable parentage of, 14 *n.* 11
Garraway, Thomas, son of Sir William Garraway, 14 *n.* 11; original proprietor of Garraway's coffee house, xxiii, 14 *n.* 11; the first retailer of tea, 14 *n.* 11
Garraway (or Garway), Sir William, head of the family, 14 *n.* 11
Garraway, William, son of Sir William Garraway, 14 *n.* 11; a director of the East India Company, liii, liv; Mundy's connection with, liii, liv; dies in Persia, liv
Garraway's Coffee-house, 14 *n.* 11
Garway family, the. *See* Garraway family, the
Gascony, Mundy's first visit to, xx, 13, 24; lost by the English, xx, lv; Mundy's second visit to, 138
Gaston-Jean-Baptiste de France, Duke of Orleans, 124, 124 *n.* 7
Gaul, map of, in Mundy's MS., 6 *n.* 1
Gaunches or Ganches, description of, 55, 55 *n.* 5, 56
Gaunching, a punishment for malefactors in Turkey, lviii, 55; description of, lviii, 56; illustration of, 55, 58
Gemoniæ, the Zindana at Belgrade compared with the, 151, 151 *n.* 1
Genoa, Symonds' journey to, 217 *n.* 1; Symonds' expenses from Turin to, 235
Gentleman's Guide, The, in his Tour through France referred to, 114 *n.* 2, 115 *n.* 6, 117 *n.* 2, 124 *n.* 2
George d'Amboise, name of the great bell at Rouen, xix; description of, xix; inscription on, xix; when melted down, xix *n.* 3
Gergeau, Gerseau. *See* Jargeau
German Empire, extent of the old, 148 *n.* 5
Gibraltar, Mundy touches at, 15
Giedicula. *See* Yedi Kūle
Gien, Pindar's party lodge at, xlvii, 122; description of, 122 *n.* 1, 227, 227 *n.* 3; a Protestant town, 122, 122 *n.* 1; retaken by the Catholics, 122 *n.* 1
Giralda, the, at Seville, Mundy's description of, xxi, 97
Giraldillo, the, on the Giralda, description of the, xxi, xxi *n.* 3
Gladiators, combats of, in amphitheatres, 102
Glanville, John, his *Voyage to Cadiz* referred to, 14 *n.* 1
Glascock, Henry, factor, 8
Glasney College, Cornwall, Mundy's grandfather "chantor" of, xiii, xiv
Glover, Sir Thomas, his account of Barton's journey, 47 *n.* 3; ambassador at Constantinople, 50 *n.* 2, 171, 175; nominated for re-appointment as ambassador to Constantinople, 180, 180 *n.* 2
Goa, Mundy's voyage to, 9
Goitre, sufferers from, at Brescia, xliii, 104; cause of, 104, 231, 232; prevalence of, in the Alps, xlv, lv, 117, 117 *n.* 5; Symonds' remarks on, 231, 232
Golden Apple, the, at Chambery, xlv, 117
Golden Gate, the, at Constantinople, 32 *n.* 2, 193 *n.* 2
Golden Head, the, at Calais, 133
Golden Horn, the, at Boulogne, 132 *n.* 7, 219
Golden Lion, the, at Chivasso, xliv, 109

Golden Star, the, at Padua, xlii, 99, 99 *n.* 3
Gondolas, xlii, 96 *n.* 1, 97, 98, 98 *n.* 1
Granada, Mts. of, xxi
Grande Chartreuse, La, 230
Grand Malligan. *See* Malaga
Grand Signior, the, 10, 21, 25; permits Pindar to return to England, 23; his reception of ambassadors, xxvi, 36, 36 *n.* 4, 37, 214; his orders for Pindar's safe conduct, xxxiii, 67; his presents to ambassadors, 36 *n.* 3; ambassadors to, 46 *n.* 2, 65, 65 *n.* 1; his seraglio at Adrianople, 49, 49 *n.* 4, 156; gift from Shāh 'Abbās to, 65, 65 *n.* 1; his treasure in Belgrade castle, 151; his stable for camels at Philippopolis, 155; his galleys at Constantinople, 196
Gratiani, Caspar, rise and downfall of, lv; dragoman to Glover and Pindar, xxxi, 50, 50 *n.* 2, 51; obtains Sir Thomas Shirley's release, 50 *n.* 2; envoy to the Emperor Matthias, 50 *n.* 2; Voïvode of Moldavia, xxxi, 50 *n.* 2, 51; his brother and sister become Muhammadans, 50 *n.* 2; Lithgow meets with, 50 *n.* 2; made Duke of Naxia, 51; intrigues with Sigismund of Poland, 51 *n.* 3; is deposed, 51 *n.* 3; perishes at the battle of Jassy, 51 *n.* 3; another version of his end, 51 *n.* 3
Gravelines, 133, 133 *n.* 2
Gravesend, Pindar's party lodge at, xlix, 135; waggon hired from Dover to, xlix, 135 boats hired from, to Blackwall, 136; Mundy halts at, on the way to Spain, 138; Symonds travels from London to, by barge, 218; coach service to Canterbury from, 218
Grayhound, the, at Boulogne, xlviii, 132, 219 *n.* 2; at Dover, xlix, 134, 134 *n.* 6, 218, 218 *n.* 2
Great Sapphire, the, report of her condition, 169
Greece. *See* Rumelia
Greeks, at Constantinople, 198; their churches, 25, 185; in Turkey, pay a poll-tax, 26, 26 *n.* 1, 186; in Belgrade, 74 *n.* 1
Greene, Lawrence, junior, Mundy remains with, at Constantinople, xxv, xxvi, xlix, 23, 23 *n.* 4; probable parentage of, 23 *n.* 4; his property in Virginia, 23 *n.* 4; escorts Pindar from Constantinople, 44, 47, 47 *n.* 1; succeeds Salter as Consul at Smyrna, xxv, 44 *n.* 6; dispute about the salary of, 44 *n.* 6; case of, supported by the King, 44 *n.* 6; petition of, detailing his services, 44 *n.* 6
Greene, Lawrence, senior, director of the Levant Company, 23 *n.* 4; agent for chaplains of the Levant Company, 23 *n.* 4; member of a committee of the East India Co., 23 *n.* 4; death of, 23 *n.* 4
Greenland, trading company to, 172
Grenoble, 230, 230 *n.* 3, 231
Gretia. *See* Rumelia
Grimston, Edward, his translation of Michel Baudier's *History of the Imperiall Estate of the Grand Seigneurs* referred to, 22 *n.* 1, 25, 25 *n.* 1, 30 *n.* 2, 32 *n.* 3, 62 *n.* 2, 63 *n.* 3; Mundy's quotations from his work, lvi, 25–27; his description of Constantinople, 183–186; dedication of his work, 183 *n.* 2; full title of his work, 25 *n.* 1, 183 *n.* 2
Grimston, Sir Harbottel, nephew of Edward Grimston, 183 *n.* 2
Grisons, the, 153 *n.* 1
Grotzka, Pindar's party halt near, xxix, xxxv, 71; *palangha* and *khāns* at, xxxv, 71; a man staked at, 71, 72; other names for, 71 *n.* 5, 201, 201 *n.* 4; Des Hayes halts at, 201; situation of, 201
Guadalquiver, river, xvii, xxi *n.* 1, 14 *n.* 1
Guadiana, river, xviii, xxii, xxii *n.* 3, 14 *n.* 4
Guier, river, boundary between France and Savoy, 118, 118 *n.* 4
Guilliams (or **Gwilliams**), Abell, merchant, escorts Pindar from Constantinople, 45, 47, 47 *n.* 1; apprenticed to John Williams, xxvii *n.* 3; made free of the Levant Company, xxvii *n.* 3
Guipuzcoa, province of, 138
Gujarat, 7
Guzman, Alonso Perez de, Duke of Medina Sidonia, retires to and dies at Sanlucar, xx, xx *n.* 6; commands the Spanish Armada, xx, xx *n.* 6

Hadrian, Emperor, repairs Adrianople, 155, 211
Hafsa, or **Khafsa**, Pindar's party halt at, xxviii, xxxi, 49; bridge at,

xxxi, 49; other spellings of the name, 48 *n.* 4, 49 *n.* 1; Des Hayes' description of, 212; *khān* and mosque at, 212
Halles, Rue des, in Paris, 129 *n.* 2
Hamburg, Mundy's voyage to, 11; trading company of, 172
Hammer, J. (von), his *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* referred to, 50 *n.* 2, 51 *n.* 3, 64 *n.* 1
Hanging, how performed in Turkey, 56
Hans. *See Khāns*
Hapsburg, Spanish line of, rulers of Milan, 105 *n.* 8
Harby, Clement, cousin of Richard Wyche, senior, liii, 160, 163
Harby, Sir Erasmus, son of Job Harby, 164
Harby, Sir Job, Mundy's connection with, liii; brother-in-law of Richard Wyche, liii, 138 *n.* 1; son-in-law of Richard Wyche, senior, liii, 160; executor to the will of Richard Wyche, liii, 161; marries Elizabeth Wyche, 163; knighted, 164; made a baronet, 164; bequest to, 164
Harby, Lady. *See* Wyche, Elizabeth
Harebone, William, emissary to Murād III., 171
Harl. MS. 288 (*Directions to Travellers*), referred to, 100 *n.* 2, 101 *n.* 2, 101 *n.* 6, 104 *n.* 1, 104 *n.* 3
Harl. MS. 943 (*Note-book of Richard Symonds*), contents of, 217 *n.* 1, 234 *n.* 5; duplicate copy of, 218 *n.* 5; quoted, 218–224, 227–235
Harl. MS. 1278 (*Note-book of R. Symonds*), quoted, 224–226
Harl. MS. 2286, history and description of, lviii, lx, lxi; discrepancies between *Rawl. MS.* A. 315 and, *see* notes on pp. 1, 2, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 23, 41, 55, 56, 57, 59, 64, 83, 84, 95, 101, 106, 117, 119, 123, 125, 132, 136, 137, 138, 139, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145
Harl. MS. 6243, referred to, xiv *n.* 1
Harl. MS. 6796 (*Voyage de France à Constantinople*), referred to, 150 *n.* 1
Harleian Miscellany, the, vol. v., referred to, 94 *n.* 1, 99 *n.* 3, 106 *n.* 4
Harlots, punishment of, in Turkey, 57
Harvey, Roger, Henry Hunt apprenticed to, xxvii *n.* 3
Hassan Pasha's Palanka, Pindar's party lodge in a *khān* at, xxix, xxxiv, 71; other names for, 71 *n.* 2; distance of, from Kolar, 202; Des Hayes lodges in a *khān* at, 202; Turks and Christians at, 202
Havre de Grace, called Newhaven by Mundy, xviii, xviii *n.* 4
Hebrus, river. *See* Maritza
Hellespont (river of Constantinople), the, 20, 20 *n.* 2, 31, 156, 157, 157 *n.* 2
Henri III. of France, begins the Pont Neuf, 125 *n.* 5
Henri IV. of France, statue of, on Pont Neuf, xlvii, 125, 125 *n.* 5, 227; portrait of, in the Louvre, 127, 225; murder of, lv, 129, 129 *n.* 2
Henry IV. of England, tomb of, at Canterbury, 135
Heraclea, ruins of, 156
Herbert, Edward, Lord of Cherbury, English ambassador in Paris, 126 *n.* 2
Hermanli, Pindar's party halt at, xxviii, xxxi, 51 *n.* 4, 52; *khān* at, 52 *n.* 4, 53
Hero and Leander, referred to, 157
Herzegovina, xxxvi, 78 *n.* 1, 79 *n.* 1
Heylyn, Peter, his *Full Relation of two Journeys* referred to, 125 *n.* 1, 125 *n.* 5, 130 *n.* 1, 130 *n.* 5, 131 *n.* 9, 132 *n* 8
Hindustan, 4, 7
Hippodrome, the, at Constantinople. *See* At-maidān, the
Hissarlik, on the site of Troy, 157 *n.* 3
Histoire de France, Abrégé Chronologique, referred to, 128 *n.* 4
Historical Pillar, the, 34, 34 *n.* 2, 35, 35 *n.* 1, 196; set up by Arcadius, 196 *n.* 2
Hobhouse, J. C., his *Journey through Albania* referred to, 20 *n.* 4, 31 *n.* 2, 32 *n.* 1, 32 *n.* 3, 35 *n.* 3, 38 *n.* 2, 48 *n.* 3, 52 *n.* 5, 53 *n.* 1, 136 *n.* 8, 174 *n.* 1
Hobson-Jobson (Yule and Burnell, *Glossary*), referred to, 26 *n.* 2
Hoemus, Mts. *See* Balkan Mts.
Holland, Mundy's travels in, xvi, lviii, 1, 9, 11
Holyoke, Francis, his *Dictionary* referred to, lvi, 155 *n.* 7
Hondius, maps by, in the *Rawlinson MS.*, lx, 1 *n.* 1, 11 *n.* 2, 84 *n.* 4, 109 *n.* 6, 113 *n.* 1, 115 *n* 2, 115 *n.* 6, 116 *n.* 5, 118 *n.* 2, 121 *n.* 8, 122 *n.* 5
Horses, hired at Belgrade for Pindar's party, xxxvi, 75; cost of hiring, xxxvii, xliv, 75 *n.* 4, 81, 82, 119, 119 *n.* 6; discharged at Sara-

jevo, 81; hired from Sarajevo to Spalato, xxxvii, 82; hired from Lyons to Roanne, xlvi
Horse-tails, Standard of the Seven, stories of the origin of, 64 *n.* 1
Howard, Henry Frederick, son of the Earl of Arundel, studies at Padua, 100 *n.* 1
Howard, Thomas. *See* Arundel, Earl of
Huguenots, strongholds of the, on the Loire, 121, 121 *n.* 3, 228
Humes, Thomas, a Scot, member of Pindar's train, xlii, 43, 101 *n.* 1; left behind at Padua, xlii, 101
Hungarians, the, Lithgow's description of, 68 *n.* 4; in Belgrade, 74 *n.* 1; Belgrade taken from, 149, 149 *n.* 4; defeated at Mohacz, 149 *n.* 4
Hungary, 72 *n.* 1; war between Turkey and, 52, 52 *n.* 1, 201; Mundy's incorrect idea of, 68, 68 *n.* 4; extent of, in the 17th century, 68 *n.* 4, 200; Blount's travels in, 146; Valjevo on the borders of, 149
Hunt, Henry, apprenticed to Roger Harvey, xxvii *n.* 3; made free of the Levant Company, xxvii *n.* 3; escorts Pindar from Constantinople, 44
Husband, a, steward, paymaster, 42 *n.* 5

Ibrāhim Pāshā, builds a *khān* at Tatar Bazarjik, 209
Ikhtiman, Pindar's party arrive at, xxix, xxxii, 61; situation of, 61, 62; other spellings of the name, 61 *n.* 8; description of the country between Sophia and, 208; inhabitants of, 208
Illustrations, in *Rawl. MS.* A. 315, lx, 4, 11 *n.* 2, 58, 59
Illyria, 148 *n.* 5
Index, the author's, referred to, 11, 14 *n.* 2, 15 *n.* 4, 15 *n.* 5, 15 *n.* 6, 15 *n.* 7, 16 *n.* 4
India, Mundy's voyages to, xvi, liv, lvii, lix, 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11; Mundy petitions for employment in, lii, liii; a large portion of Mundy's MS. dealing with, lx; extent of, 4, 5; inhabitants of, 4; productions of, 4; derivation of the name, 4, 4 *n.* 4; description of, 8; alluded to, 19 *n.* 2, 165
Indian Ocean, trading places in the, 5 *n.* 1
India Office, the, a copy of Mundy's first and second Voyages to India at, lxi
Indigo, 8, 10
Indus, river, name India derived from, 4; derivation of name of, 4 *n.* 4
Inns, in Turkey. *See Khāns*
Interpreters (dragomans). *See* Dominico; Gratiani, Caspar
Iron Cross, the, inn, in Rue St Martin, xlvii, 124
Irún, Mundy goes to, l, 138, 138 *n.* 5, 139, 139 *n.* 3
Irvine, William, his *Army of the Indian Moghuls* referred to, 64 *n.* 1
Isabella of Savoy, marries the Duke of Modena, 110 *n.* 5
Isère, river, 115 *n.* 3, 230 *n.* 3; Symonds mistakes the Arc for the, 231, 231 *n.* 2
Iskanderūn. *See* Scanderoon
Isker, Isca, river, xxxiii, 63 *n.* 2, 208
Islington, Pindar's house at, xlix, 136
Issus, 19 *n.* 2
Ister, river. *See* Danube
Istria, 147, 147 *n.* 1; capitano of, xli *n.* 1. 89
Istria, Cape of. *See* Punta di Promontore
Italians, at Constantinople, their churches, 25
Italy, Mundy's travels in, 1. 214 *n.* 4; map of, in his MS., 6 *n.* 1; lazarettos at the seaports of, 87; Symonds' notes on, 217 *n.* 1
Ivan or **Jura Ivan**, Pindar's party reach, xxxviii, 82; distance of, from Sarajevo, 82 *n.* 6
Ivan Planina, xxxviii, 82 *n.* 6; other spellings of, 82 *n.* 6

Jablanitza, river, Pindar's party follow the, xxxvi, 79 *n.* 2
Jackson, John, uncle of Peter Mundy, xiii, xvii, lvi; rector of North Petherwin, xiii
Jadar, river, xxxvii, 80 *n.* 3, 80 *n.* 5
Jagodina. *See* Yagodin
James I., King, supports Lawrence Greene's claim, 44 *n.* 6; renews the charter of the Levant Company, 171; Peter Wyche sent to Spain to announce the death of, 163
James, Richard, a member of a Committee of the East India Co., 23 *n.* 4

Janissaries, the, effect revolutions, 21 *n.* 4, 21 *n.* 6, 22 *n.* 1, 29, 43 *n.* 2, 51 *n.* 1, 190; a guard for Pindar, xxvii, xxxiii, xxxiv, 43, 65, 66, 70; by whom established, 43 *n.* 2; a guard to the Persian ambassador, 65; their attire, 65, 67 *n.* 1; protect the roads around Nissa, 68 *n.* 3, 204; the Seraglio at Constantinople guarded by, 188; act as permanent guards to various embassies, 188 *n.* 4; serve as a guard for the Viceroy of Rumelia, 211

Janizar, cape, 157

Japan, Mundy's voyage to, xvi, 9

Jarál. *See* Xaral

Jargeau, Pindar's party pass, 122; other spellings of the name, 122 *n.* 2, 122 *n.* 5

Jassy, defeat of Caspar Gratiani at, 51 *n.* 3

Java, 5

Jebbatore. *See* Gibraltar

Jemberli Tāsh. *See* Burnt Column, the

Jersey, Mundy's visit to, xvi, lii, 144, 145; Mundy's description of, 144; cider produced at, 144; language of the inhabitants of, 144

Jerusalem, Des Hayes directed to establish a French consul at, 199 *n.* 2

Jews, at Constantinople, their Synagogues, 28, 185; compelled to act as hangmen, 56 *n.* 3; at Belgrade, 73, 74 *n.* 1; at Venice, furniture hired of, xli, 92; position of, at Venice, 92 *n.* 2; how treated by the Turks, 152; taxes paid by the, at Constantinople, 186, 198; farm the customs at Constantinople, 190

Jezar Mustafa Pasha. *See* Mustafa Pasha Kuprusu

Joan of Arc, her statue at Orleans, xlvii, 122, 122 *n.* 7; her exploits, lv, 123

Job's Tomb, the burial place of the Sultan's children, 189, 190

Johnson, J. W., his *Traveller's Guide* referred to, 106 *n.* 7, 115 *n.* 6, 116 *n.* 3, 118 *n.* 7

Jonah, the, sails for Surat, 7

Journall of a Voyage thro' France and Italy. See *Sloane MS.* 2142

Juan II. of Spain, establishes the Court of Chancery at Valladolid, 139 *n.* 5; makes his residence at Valladolid, 140 *n.* 1

Kāīḳ, a small skiff, 28 *n.* 3

Kā'immakām, deputy-governor, 75 *n.* 6, 201

Kaniza, taken by the Turks, xxxv, 75, 75 *n.* 3; description of ordnance taken at, 75 *n.* 3

Kāpi, gate, 61 *n.* 2, 152 *n.* 6

Kāpi āgha, chief door-keeper, 36 *n.* 4, 64 *n.* 1, 211; gates of the Seraglio guarded by the, 188

Kapiji-bāshi, chamberlain, 36 *n.* 4, 64 *n.* 1

Kaprulov Derbend, pass. *See* Kapulu Derbend

Kapuli or **Kapujik**, Pindar's party pass through, xxix, 61; Alexander's arch at, 61; various spellings of the name, 61 *n.* 5, 152 *n.* 5; Thermopylae supposed to be at, 152 *n.* 6; on the borders of Bulgaria, 209; a pass through the Balkans at, 209

Kapulu Derbend, pass (Kaprulov Derbend), Pindar's party traverse, xxxii, 61, 61 *n.* 2

Karabali, the residence of ambassadors to Constantinople, 191 *n.* 2

Karistran, Pindar's party pass, xxviii, 48; distance of, from Chorlu, 48 *n.* 2

Kāsim Beg. *See* Būrūn Kāsim

Kāsim Pāshā, a suburb of Constantinople, 30, 31; Evliya Efendi's account of, 31 *n.* 1

Kāzī, *Kādī*, the, at Belgrade, visits of Pindar and Des Hayes to, xxxvi, 72, 72 *n.* 3; at Valjevo, sends a guard to Pindar, xxxvi, 78

Keeleesh. *See* Clissa

Kelly, Dr P., his *Universal Cambist* referred to, 92 *n.* 1, 98 *n.* 4, 100 *n.* 4

Kentish, Mr, bearer of letters from Pindar to the Levant Co., 177

Keppel, Major George, his *Journey across the Balcan* referred to, 67 *n.* 3, 71 *n.* 7

Kerkoporta (Circus-gate), the, at Constantinople, situation of, 32 *n.* 2, 193 *n.* 2; when and why destroyed, 193 *n.* 2

Kest, George, marries Joan Mundy, xiv

Ketch. *See* Catch

Khafsa or **Hafsa**, Pindar's party halt at, xxviii, xxxi, 49; bridge at, xxxi, 49; other spellings of, 48 *n.* 4, 49 *n.* 1; Des Hayes' description of, 212

Khalīl Pāshā, signs a treaty between Turkey and Persia, 65 *n.* 1

Khāns (caravanserais), in Turkey, allusions to, xxxi, xxxiv, xxxv,

xxxvii, xxxix, 49 *n.* 4, 52 *n.* 4, 70, 71, 80, 80 *n.* 5, 85, 85 *n.* 2, 152, 156; at Kūchuk Chekméjé, Mundy and Des Hayes lodge in, xxviii, 46, 213; descriptions of, lv, 52, 52 *n.* 5, 53, 54, 73, 73 *n.* 4, 202, 203, 213, 214, 216; excellence of, between Adrianople and Constantinople, 48 *n.* 4, 202, 211; built by rich *bāshās*, 186, 211, 212, 216

Kharāj, tribute, 26 *n.* 1, 186

Kialik, Pindar lodges at, xxviii, xxxi, 54; Mundy's description of, 54; other spellings of the name, 54 *n.* 2; inhabitants of, 210

King, Mr, the Levant Company's chaplain at Constantinople, 23 *n.* 4

Kiosks, at Constantinople, 28, 28 *n.* 1, 188, 189

Knolles, Richard, his *Historie of the Turkes* referred to, lvi, 43 *n.* 1, 50 *n.* 2, 51 *n.* 3, 65 *n.* 3, 67 *n.* 1, 75 *n.* 3, 75 *n.* 6

Kolar or **Kullar**, Pindar's party dine at, xxix, xxxiv, xxxv, 71; *palangha* at, xxxv, 71, 71 *n.* 4; other spellings of the name, 71 *n.* 4; Des Hayes halts at, 202; inhabitants of, 202

Kolubara, river, xxxvi, 78, 78 *n.* 4, 79 *n.* 4

Konjica or **Konitza**, Pindar's party reach, xxxviii, 83, 83 *n.* 3; distance of, from Sarajevo, 83 *n.* 1; other spellings of the name, 83 *n.* 1

Koum Kalé, 157 *n.* 3

Kūchuk Chekméjé, Pindar halts at, xxviii, xxx, 45; *khān* at, xxviii, 46, 213, 214; other names for, 46 *n.* 2; bridge at, xxx, 46, 46 *n.* 2, 215; halting place for ambassadors, 46 *n.* 2, 47 *n.* 3, 213; Sulaimān rebuilds the bridge at, 195; fish at, 213; Des Hayes' description of, 213, 214

Kumburgas, Pindar's party pass, xxviii, 47; situation and description of, 47 *n.* 2, 47 *n.* 3; other spellings of the name, 47 *n.* 2

La Bussière, Symonds' description of, 227

La Chambre, situation of, 116 *n.* 3; Symonds dines at, 231; fortifications of, 231

La Charité, Pindar's party halt at, xlvi, xlvii, 121; bridge at, 121, 121 *n.* 1, 121 *n.* 2, 228; description of, 121 *n.* 2, 228; country around described, 228

La Crosse, inn at Dieppe, 138 *n.* 4

La Liberté, a messenger employed by Symonds, 223

Lambort. *See* Lanslebourg

Lane, John, son of Richard Lane, 42 *n.* 2

Lane, Richard, travels in Pindar's train, 42; owner of the *Samaritan*, 42 *n.* 2; repudiates his son's debts, 42 *n.* 2; hires a boat for Pindar's party, xl, xlix, 88; hires a waggon for Pindar's baggage, 135

Lansdowne MS. 720 (*Voyage d'Italie*), referred to, *see* notes on pp. 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 121, 122

Lanslebourg, at the foot of Mt. Cenis, xlv, 112 *n.* 2, 114, 232; Pindar's party halt at, xlv, 114; other spellings of the name, 114 *n.* 2

La Palisse, 228 *n.* 5

Lapland, 11

Laughlyne, Christopher, recommended by Downing as purser, 169

La Verpillière, Pindar's party lodge at, xlvi, 118; other spellings of the name, 118 *n.* 8

Lazaretto, at Spalato, xl, 86; description of a, lv, 87, 87 *n.* 1; why established, 87

Leate, Nicholas, secretary of the Levant Company, 176

Le Bruyn, Corneille, his *Voyage au Levant* referred to, 31 *n.* 1, 32 *n.* 2, 33 *n.* 1, 33 *n.* 2

Leeseecheechee. *See* Lisicici

Leghorn, Mundy's description of, xxiv, 16, 17; decoration of houses at, 16, 16 *n.* 8, 17 *n.* 1; other descriptions of, 17 *n.* 1; lazaretto at, 17 *n.* 2; the *Royall Merchant* bound to, 16, 166

Le Hamel, Pindar's party halt at, xlviii, 131; situation of, 131 *n.* 7

Lello, Henry, ambassador at Constantinople, 171

Le Neve, Peter, Symonds' MS. bought from, 217 *n.* 1

Leonidas, King of Sparta, his prowess at Thermopylae, 152 *n.* 6, 153

Leopolis, Bargrave journeys to, 215

Lerma, Cardinal, Duke of, dies at Valladolid, li, lv, 140, 140 *n.* 2; his tomb, 140, 140 *n.* 3; cause of unpopularity of, 140 *n.* 2; his son supplants, 140 *n.* 2; created Cardinal, 140 *n.* 2; retires from Madrid, 140 *n.* 2

Levant, the, trade of the English in, 172; Blount's voyage to, *see* Appendix A; Sandys' travels in the, *see* Appendix E; Des Hayes' journey to the, *see* Appendix F
Levant Company, the, directors and members of, xxiii *n.* 4, xxvii, 14 *n.* 11, 15 *n.* 1, 15 *n.* 3, 23 *n.* 4, 162, 172; history and constitution of, 16 *n.* 5, 171–173; ambassadors of, xxvi, xxvii, 22 *n.* 1, 23 *n.* 5, 171, 173, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181, 182; Greene's case referred to, 44 *n.* 6; a consul for Smyrna recommended to, 44 *n.* 6; Henry Davis delivers letters to, 138 *n.* 3; compared with the East India Company, 172; Chardin's account of the, 172–174; value of the trade of, 173; salary paid to officials of, 173; connection of the Wyche family with, xxiii, 159, 160, 164; charters the *Royall Merchant* for Constantinople, 166–168; position of the, at Constantinople, in Mundy's time, 174; decline of the prosperity of, 174; suffers from the depredation of pirates, 176
Ley family, the, of Penzance, original owners of *Add. MS.* 33420, lxii
Lido, Fort, 90 *n.* 2
Lido, Port, at entrance into the lagoons of Venice, 89, 89 *n.* 8, 90 *n.* 2, 96 *n.* 1
Light horsemen, hired from Gravesend to Blackwall, 136; definition of, 136 *n.* 2
Lion's Whelp, pinnace, 169
Lira, value of, 92 *n.* 1, 98, 98 *n.* 4, 99, 100 *n.* 4, 123, 235
Lisicici, Pindar's party reach, xxxviii, 83; distance of from Konjica, 83 *n.* 3
Lithgow, William, his *Painefull Peregrinations* referred to, *see* notes on pp. 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 31, 50, 55, 62, 67, 68, 88, 96, 99, 106, 139
Little Bridge, the. *See* Kūchuk Chekméjé
Livanjsko Polje, the, 84 *n.* 7
Livius, Titus, buried at Padua, 99 *n.* 5
Livno, 84 *n.* 6, 84 *n.* 7
Livorne. *See* Leghorn
Livre. *See* Lira
Ljubowija, river, Pindar's party follow the, xxxvi, xxxvii, 79 *n.* 2, 79 *n.* 5
Lobster boat, Mundy's trading voyage to London in a, xvi
Lodi, Pindar's party dine at, xliii, 106; in the Duchy of Milan, 106 *n.* 1
Loire, river, 116 *n.* 5; shallowness of, in summer, xlvi, 120, 122, 228; towns on the banks of the, xlvi, 120, 120 *n.* 2, 121, 121 *n.* 1, 122, 122 *n.* 7; Pindar's party travel to Orleans on the, xlvi, lv, 122, 136; floating mills on the, xlvii, 122; description of the country on its banks, xlvi, 123, 227, 227 *n.* 5; Symonds' description of the, 227
Lonato, Pindar's party lodge at, xlii, 103
London, Mundy's journey overland from Constantinople to, xv, xxxvii–xlix, l, lvii, 7, 24; Mundy's description of occurrences in, 10; compared with Constantinople, 30, 188, 191, 192; the Exchange in, compared with that in Paris, 129 *n.* 4; Mundy's journeys to and from, 145; Mundy writes his second *Appendix* in, xvi, lix
Long, Charles Edward, edits Symonds' *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army*, 217 *n.* 1
Longjumeau, xlvii, 123 *n.* 6, 124
Loucharick. *See* Suçuraz
Louis XII. of France, orders the building of Pont Notre Dame, 125 *n.* 1
Louis XIII. of France, his ambassadors at Constantinople, xxvii, xxxi, 199 *n.* 2; his sister marries the Prince of Piedmont, 110 *n.* 4, 113, 234 *n.* 4; his reconciliation with his mother, 128 *n.* 4; plans the death of the Maréchal d'Ancre, 129, 129 *n.* 1
Loup, Le, at Roanne, 228
Louvre, the, Mundy's description of, xlvii, 126–128; Symonds' description of, 224, 225; other descriptions of, 127 *n.* 3, 128 *n.* 1, 128 *n.* 2, 128 *n.* 3; gardens surrounding, 127, 127 *n.* 5, 224, 225; registry-office beneath, 225
Low Countries, the, 133
Lowe, Francis, son of Sir Thomas Lowe, xxvii *n.* 3, 172; made free of the Levant Company, xxvii *n.* 2 escorts Pindar from Constantinople 45, 47, 47 *n.* 1; ? in action Algiers, 45 *n.* 3; a merchant Galata, 172

Lowe, Sir Thomas, father of Francis Lowe, 167, 172; governor of the Levant Company, 172
Lubeck, 11
Lucy, Captain, visits Pindar at Venice, 92
Lugar Nuevo, the Guadiana flows underground from, xxii *n.* 3
Lule-Burgas, 47 *n.* 3, 48 *n.* 4, 156; Pindar's party halt near, xxviii, xxx, 48; other names for, 48 *n.* 3; Des Hayes halts at, 212; mosque and *khān* at, 212, 216; Bargrave's description of, 216
Lussin, I., xl, 88 *n.* 5, 88 *n.* 6, 88 *n.* 7
Luxembourg Palace, the, Mundy visits, xlvii, 126; for whom built, 126 *n.* 3; description of, 126 *n.* 3, 225, 226
Lyons, Mundy's description of, xlvi, 119; Pindar's party lodge at, xlvi, 119; cost of horse hire from Turin to, xliv, 119; other descriptions of, 119 *n.* 4, 229; water-mills at, xlvi, 119, 149; Symonds' route to, 228, 228 *n.* 5; country between Tarare and, described, 229; Symonds' expenses from Nevers to, 235

Mabe, residence of the Worth family, lxiii
Macao, Mundy's voyage to, 6, 9, 11
Macedonia, 152, 152 *n.* 5; Blount's voyage to, 146; Sophia reckoned in, 151
Madagascar or **St Lawrence**, Mundy's voyage to, 1, 9, 11
Maiden Tower, at Scutari, 197
Mainwaring, Sir Henry, visits Pindar at Venice, 92; commands English soldiers for Venice, 92 *n.* 3, 92 *n.* 6; suit against, for taking Wardeman's ship, 92 *n.* 6; pardoned, 92 *n.* 6
Majorca, 15
Malacca, Mundy's voyage to, 9
Malaga, Mundy touches at, 14, 15, 24
Malay Peninsula, the, 5 *n.* 1
Malefactors, how punished in Turkey, 55, 56, 57; in France, punishment of, 123, 124
Malegnano, Pindar's party lodge at, xliii, 106
Maltravers, James, Lord, son of the Earl of Arundel, xlii, 100; studies at Padua, xlii, 100, 100 *n.* 1; interchanges visits with Pindar, xlii, 100; dies at Ghent, 100 *n.* 1
Manilas (Philippine Is.), Mundy's intended voyage to the, 6
Manneringe, Captain. *See* Mainwaring, Sir Henry
Mantua, Duke of. *See* Francis de Gonzaga
Maps in Mundy's MS., the World, 1 *n.* 1, 6, 6 *n.* 1; Europe, 6, 6 *n.* 1, 11 *n.* 2; Turkey, 6 *n.* 1; Arabia, 6 *n.* 1; Italy, 6 *n.* 1; Savoy, 6 *n.* 1, 109 *n.* 6, 118 *n.* 2; Gaul, 6 *n.* 1, 116 *n.* 5, 121 *n.* 8, 122 *n.* 5; Asia, 6 *n.* 1; the track of Mundy's voyages marked on the, 6
Marcigny, Pindar's party reach, 120, 228 *n.* 5; monastery at, 120 *n.* 4
Margaret, the, of Weymouth, 45 *n.* 5
Margaret, of Savoy, marries the Duke of Mantua, 110 *n.* 5; dispute about the custody of her child, 110 *n.* 5
Margett (*Margarett*), the, Mundy sails for England in, li, 141; goes to Aleppo for the Levant Co. in, 141 *n.* 3
Marie, of Savoy, a nun, 110 *n.* 5
Marie de Medici, portrait of, in the Louvre, xlvii, 127, 127 *n.* 4; is reconciled with her son, 128 *n.* 4
Maritza, river, xxxi, xxxii, 54 *n.* 9, 155, 156, 209, 210, 211; Mustafa Pasha's bridge over the, 210
Mark Antony, fights against Brutus and Cassius, 153, 154 *n.* 1
Market, of Women. *See* Avret-bazār
Marketon, the Mundys of, xiv
Marlborough Downs, compared with the Philippic Fields, 153; battle fought on the, 153
Marmora, Sea of (Propontick Sea), 47 *n.* 4, 183, 212, 213; extent of, 198
Marne, river, compared with the Morava, 204
Marquise, Pindar's party follow the coastline to, xlviii, 133
Mars, god of war, amphitheatres consecrated to, 102
Marseilles, 119 *n.* 2
Martin, Mme, Symonds' landlady, 224
Mary Rose, the, Lawrence Spike recommended as purser for, 42 *n.* 1
Matthias, Emperor, embassy to, from the Grand Signior, 50 *n.* 2; Caspar Gratiani treats with the, 51

Maubert, Place, 224
Maurice, son of the Duke of Savoy, marries his niece, 110 *n.* 6
Mauritius, I., Mundy's arrival at, 9
Mecca, Osmān's pretended pilgrimage to, 22 *n.* 1
Medici, Marie de, the Luxembourg built for, 126, 126 *n.* 3; pictures of her life in the Luxembourg, 226
Medina Sidonia, Duke of. *See* Guzman, Don Alonso Perez de
Mediterranean Sea (the **Straights**), 15 *n.* 4, 15 *n.* 5, 16, 20; Mundy's voyage in the, xxiii, 15–18, 84 *n.* 4; English trade in the, 159, 171
Medvednjik Planina, the, Mundy's party cross, xxxvi, 79 *n.* 2, 79 *n.* 4
Meeching, original name of Newhaven, xviii *n.* 4
Menavinus, Antonius, his remark on the capacity of S. Sophia, 194
Menick, Sir John, his testimony as to R. Wyche's son, 159
Merchants, English, trading under the Levant Company, 16, 16 *n.* 5; their residence at Constantinople, 22 *n.* 2; their life at Constantinople, 22; Eyre quarrels with the, at Constantinople, 181
Meredith, Jane, marries Peter Wyche, 163
Messina, 15 *n.* 7, 16
Mestre, Canale di. *See* Cannaregio
Mexico, Mundy's intended voyage to, 6, 6 *n.* 2
Milan, post-road from Venice to, xlii, 101 *n.* 4; Pindar's party dine at, xliii, 106; Pindar exchanges visits with the governor of, xliii, 106; cathedral at, xliii, 106; castle at, xliii, 107, 107 *n.* 1
Milan, Duchy of, 105 *n.* 6, 105 *n.* 8; extent of the, 106 *n.* 1; boundary of the, xliii, xliv, 108, 108 *n.* 5
Militsch, Mt., ascent of, by Pindar's party, probable, 84 *n.* 2
Miljacka or **Miljatzka**, river, xxxviii, 82, 82 *n.* 2
Mills, description of, at Belgrade, xxxv, xlvi, 72, 72 *n.* 4, 73, 82 *n.* 3, 119; on the Maritza, 72 *n.* 4; at Sarajevo, xxxviii, 82, 82 *n.* 3; at Lyons, xlvi, 119; on the Loire, xlvii, 122
Mincing Lane, Richard Wyche's house in, 136, 161
Minorca, 15 *n.* 7, 16
Modane, Symonds dines at, 232
Modena, Duke of, marries Isabella of Savoy, 110 *n.* 5
Modyford, James, travels with Bargrave, 215
Mogol, the Great, 8
Mohacz, the Hungarians defeated at the battle of, 149 *n.* 4
Moisselles, Pindar's party pass through, xlviii, 131, 131 *n.* 6
Moldavia, Caspar Gratiani made governor of, xxxi, lv, 50 *n.* 2, 51; called Bugdamia by Mundy and others, 51 *n.* 1
Molton, Captain Robert, commands the *Margett*, li, 141; Mundy sails with, 143
Molucca, Islands, 5
Monsieur. *See* Orleans, Duke of
Montargis, Des Hayes the son of a governor of, 199 *n.* 2; Symonds' description of the country between Paris and, 227; castle at, 227; boats built at, 227
Montmélian, bridge at, 115 *n.* 3; Pindar precedes his followers to, xlv, 116; description of, 116 *n.* 2, 116 *n.* 4, 230; castle at, 230; siege of, 230
Montreuil-sur-mer, Pindar's party lodge at, xlviii, 132; description of, 132, 132 *n.* 4, 219, 219 *n.* 3; other spellings of the name, 132 *n.* 4
Moody, Mr, merchant at Galata, escorts Pindar from Constantinople, 44
Morans, chairmen, 114 *n.* 1
Morant, Philip, his *History of Essex* referred to, 217 *n.* 1
Morava, river, 70 *n.* 5, 70 *n.* 7; Pindar's party cross the, xxxiv, 70; Poullet and Des Hayes cross the, 70 *n.* 6, 204; source and outlet of the, 203, 204; compared with the Marne, 204
Moravia, 68 *n.* 4
Morea, the, 18 *n.* 3
Morel, Bartolomé, casts the Giraldillo, xxi *n.* 3
Moryson, Fynes, his *Itinerary* referred to, 31 *n.* 2, 37 *n.* 6, 38 *n.* 1, 38 *n.* 2, 40 *n.* 1
Moscovia. *See* Russia
Moscow, Mundy's intended journey to, 6
Mosques, at Constantinople, 25, 29, 33, 33 *n.* 1, 35, 35 *n.* 4, 39 *n.* 1, 185, 189, 193, 194; in Turkey, 53, 54; at Belgrade, 73, 74; at Sarajevo, xxxviii, 82, 82 *n.* 1, 148, 148

n. 3; at Sophia, 152, 156; at Adrianople, 156, 211; built as acts of reparation, 210, 216
Mostar, route of railway from Sarajevo to, xxxviii, 82 *n.* 5, 83 *n.* 4
Moulin, Symonds passes, on the way to Roanne, 228 *n.* 5
Muhammad II., 31 *n.* 1, 36 *n.* 1, 39 *n.* 1; fortifies the Seraglio at Constantinople, 35 *n.* 5; builds the Seraglio at Sarajevo, 81 *n.* 2
Muhammad III., takes Kaniza, 75 *n.* 3
Muhammad, the Prophet, birth of, 34 *n.* 2, 35 *n.* 2
Meleto, Patriarch at Constantinople, 37 *n.* 4
Mundy, —, aunt of Peter Mundy, wife of John Jackson, xiii
Mundy, —, brother of Peter Mundy, xiii
Mundy, —, mother of Peter Mundy, probable date of death of, xiii
Mundy, —, sister of Richard Mundy, marries Hannibal Vivian, xv
Mundy, —, uncle of Peter Mundy, xiii; engaged in the pilchard business, xiii, l, 137
Mundy, Anthony, junior, of Penryn, burial of, xv
Mundy, Anthony, senior, of Penryn, merchant, xv
Mundy, Joan, daughter of Robert Mundy, marries George Kest, xiv
Mundy, John, founder of the Mundy family, xiv
Mundy, Sir John, eighth of the line, xiv
Mundy, Sir John, Lord Mayor of London, family of, xiv
Mundy, John, fifth son of Sir J. Mundy, settles at Rialton Manor, xiv
Mundy, Peter, senior, grandfather of Peter Mundy, xiii; "chantor" of Glasney College, xiii, xiv
Mundy, Peter, birth and parentage of, xiii; early days and education of, xvi, xvii; goes to Normandy, xvii, 2, 7, 13; spends a year in Bayonne, xvii, 13; cabin boy to Captain Davis, xvii, 13; visits Spanish ports, xvii, 14; lives at Sanlucar, xvii, xxii, 14; learns Spanish at Seville, xviii, xx, 14, 137 *n.* 5; goes to Ayamonte and Tavira, xviii, xxii, 14; returns to England, xviii, xx, xx *n.* 7, 14; enters the service of James Wyche, xxiii, 14, 160; sails on the *Royall Merchant* to Constantinople, xxiii, 14; touches at ports in the Mediterranean, xxiii, 15, 16; arrives at Constantinople, xxiv, 7, 10, 13, 21, 160, 172, 175, 177; remains at Constantinople for three years, xxiv, 22; death of his master, xxv, 23; lives with Lawrence Greene, junior, xxv, xxvi, 23; travels overland to England in Pindar's train, xxvi–xlix, l, 7, 10, 13, 41–136; takes leave of Pindar, xlix, 136, 179; goes to Richard Wyche, 136, 161; goes to Penryn, 137; returns to London, 137 *n.* 3; goes to Seville with pilchards, l, 137; enters Richard Wyche's service, l, 137, 162; posts to Spain about the "copper contract," l, 138, 139 *n.* 3, 162; returns to London on the *Margett*, li, 141, 162; goes to Colchester, 143; his master dies, 143, 162; goes to Cornwall, lii, 143; goes to St Malo and Jersey, lii, 144; returns to Penryn, 144; petitions the East India Company for employment, lii, 144; refuses to enter Sir Peter Wyche's service, 156, 163; entertained as under factor by the E. I. Co., liii, 144, 145 *n.* 1; his salary under Richard Wyche and the E. I. Co., l, lii, liii, 145 *n.* 1; his voyages to India, China, Holland, Russia, etc., liv, lvii, lviii, 2, 4 *n.* 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11; his travels in England and Wales, 9, 11; chronological account of his career, xv, xvi; dies intestate, lxiii; his First *Relation*, 13–24; his *Supplement* to his First *Relation*, 24–40; his Second *Relation*, 41–136; his Third *Relation*, 137–145; mileage covered by, in his travels, xxv, xxix, l, liv, 10, 24, 136, 145; his routes marked on maps in his MS., 6, 30 *n.* 2, 84 *n.* 4, 109 *n.* 6, 116 *n.* 5; his additional remarks on France and Spain, xviii–xxiii; his remarks on Constantinople, xxvi, 30–40; his description of Turkish pastimes and punishments, 55–59; his description of Belgrade and "Bulgarians," xxxv, lv, 72–78; his route from Valjevo to Spalato difficult to trace, xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxviii, 78 *n.* 3; his observations on Venice, xl–xlii, 90–98; his description of Paris, xlvii, xlviii, 124–130; his route across France compared with Symonds', 228 *n.* 5; his description

of Valladolid, li, 139–141; his observations on goître, 104, 104 *n.* 6, 117; his remarks on Italian vineyards, xliii, 105; his quotations from other authors, xxvi, 25–27, 27–30, 146 *n.* 1, 183 *n.* 3, 187 *n.* 1, 192 *n.* 4; his friends and patrons, xiv, xv, xxiii, l, liii, liv, lvii, lxiii, 2; his character and attainments, lii, liv, lv, lvi, lvii; fall in the fortunes of his family, li; his title to his MS., 1; his Preface, xiii, 2–6; his Index, 11; his Appendix, xvi, xviii *n.* 3, lviii, lix, 10, 147 *n.* 1; scope and length of his work, xv, 3, 7–11; aim of his work, 3–6; illustrations in his MS., lx, 4; his original account of his early voyages lost, lvii, lviii, 2; his revision of his MS., lviii, lxii, 103 *n.* 5; his intention to re-copy his MS., xviii, lix; history of the *Rawl. MS.*, lvii–lxiii; other existing copies of the travels of, lix–lxii

Mundy, Richard, senior, merchant, father of Peter Mundy, xiii, lvii, lxii, 2, 13, 137, 143 *n.* 7; resides at Penryn, xiii; apprenticed at Totnes, xiii; takes Peter Mundy to Rouen, xiii, xvii; trades in pilchards, xiii, l; last mention of, in Mundy's MS., xiii; probable date of death of, xiv

Mundy, Richard, third son of John Mundy of Rialton, xiv; his connection with Peter Mundy discussed, xiv

Mundy, Richard, great-grandson of John Mundy of Rialton, xiv; dies unmarried, xiv; his sister marries Hannibal Vivian, xiv

Mundy, Robert, of Penryn, merchant, marriage of the daughter of, xiv, xv; burial of, xiv

Mundy, Thomas, son of Sir John Mundy, xiv; Prior of Bodmin, xiv; death of, xiv; his connection with Peter Mundy, senior, discussed, xiv

Mundys, the, of Derbyshire and Leicestershire, xiv

Mundys, the, of Penryn, xiii, xiv, xv

Mundys, the, of St Colomb Minor, xiv, xxiii

Murād IV., son of Ahmad, succeeds Osmān, 21 *n.* 6, 25, 25 *n.* 2, 39 *n.* 4

Murād, Thaddeus, an Armenian, travels in Pindar's train, 43, 43 *n.* 4; rejoins the party at Chorlu, 48; leaves Pindar's train at Belgrade, xxxvi, 43 *n.* 4; returns to Constantinople, xxxvi, 43 *n.* 4, 76; chooses a wife for his brother, xxxvi, 43 *n.* 4, 76

Murray, Dr James A. H., his *Oxford English Dictionary* referred to, 16 *n.* 8, 27 *n.* 2, 38 *n.* 3, 55 *n.* 5, 89 *n.* 5, 100 *n.* 3, 134 *n.* 1

Musa Palanka. *See* Bela Palanka

Muscovy Company, the, Sir Henry Garraway a director of, 14 *n.* 11; Richard Wyche, senior, and his family connected with, 159, 161, 165; rise of, 172

Mustafa I., imprisonment of, 21 *n.* 4, 21 *n.* 6, 22 *n.* 1; appointed as Ahmad's successor, 22 *n.* 1; accession of, xxiv, 21, 21 *n.* 6; deposition of, xxiv, 21, 21 *n.* 6, 22 *n.* 1, 178; restoration of, 21 *n.* 6, 22 *n.* 1; his incompetence, 22 *n.* 1; brother of Ahmad, 22 *n.* 1; superseded by Osmān, 22 *n.* 1; imprisons the Baron de Sancy, 43 *n.* 1

Mustafa Pasha, his bridge, 51, 51 *n.* 4, 52, 210; refuses to make over his bridge to Sulaimān, 52; builds and endows a *khān* at Burgas, 212

Mustafa Pasha Kuprusu, Pindar's party halt at, xxviii, xxxi, 51; story of the bridge at, xxxi, 51, 51 *n.* 4; other names for, 51 *n.* 4

Naima, *Annals* of, referred to, 65 *n.* 1, 71 *n.* 1, 75 *n.* 3

Narenta, river, xxxviii, 83 *n.* 4; rapidity of, 83

Naviglio-Grande, canal, boats on the, xliii, xliv; mistaken by Mundy for a river, 107 *n.* 2; Pindar's party cross the, 108

Naxia, Naxos, island, Caspar Gratiani made Duke of, 51

Neretria, Neretna, river. *See* Narenta

Neufchâtel, Pindar's party pass, xlviii, 132, 132 *n.* 5; Mundy sees the English Channel from, 132

Neuvy-sur-Loire, Pindar's party pass, 121, 121 *n.* 5; between Cosne and Briare, 122 *n.* 1

Nevers, Mundy's description of, xlvi, 120, 121; other descriptions of, 121 *n.* 1; bridge at, 120, 121 *n.* 1; Symonds' route from Paris to, 227, 228; Symonds' route to Roanne from, 228 *n.* 5; Symonds' expenses at, 235

Nevett, Richard, travels with Bargrave, 215

Newgate, reprieved prisoners in, to serve as soldiers, 92 *n.* 5
Newhaven, original name of, xviii *n.* 4
Nice. *See* Nissa
Nicea, river. *See* Nissava, river
Nichols, John, his *History of the County of Leicester* referred to, xiv *n.* 2; his *Progresses of King James* referred to, 179, 179 *n.* 1
Nissa or **Nisch**, Pindar halts at, xxix, 69; roads near, patrolled by Janissaries, 68 *n.* 3, 205; dangers in the approach to, 69, 204, 205; situation of, 69, 204; castle and walls at, 69, 204; other spellings of the name, 69 *n.* 1, 204; neighbourhood of, infested by robbers, 69, 69 *n.* 2, 205; descriptions of, xxxiv, 69 *n.* 5, 151, 204; district on either side of, described, xxxiv, 70, 204, 205; under the government of Buda, 204
Nissava, river, bridge over the, xxxiv, 69, 69 *n.* 5; flows into the Morava, 204; separates Servia from Bulgaria, 69 *n.* 5, 204
Nissy, Lac de, 118 *n.* 1
Norden, John, his *Description of Cornwall* referred to, xvii *n.* 3, xvii *n.* 6
Normandy, Mundy's first visit to, xviii, 13, 24; Mundy's second visit to, 138
Norris, John, supercargo, sails in the *Royall Mary*, 8
Northamptonshire, compared with the district near Bearne, 220
North Cape, the, Mundy sails to, 11
North Petherwin, Mundy's uncle rector of, xiii, xvii, lvi
Norway, Mundy sails along the coast of, 11
Notre Dame, cathedral, in Paris, xlvii, xlviii, 130, 130 *n.* 1, 223, 223 *n.* 4, 226
Nottingham, Earl of, ratifies a treaty between France and Spain, 139 *n.* 4
Nouveau Guide du Voyageur referred to, 106 *n.* 4
Novalese, Pindar's party lodge at, xliv, 112; situation of, 112, 112 *n.* 2, 115 *n.* 4; character of the inhabitants of, 112 *n.* 2; Symonds dines at, 233
Novara, Pindar's party dine at, xliv, 108
Novibazar, 78 *n.* 1
Novi Khān. *See* Yeni Khān
Octavius Caesar, siege of Salona by, 147, 147 *n.* 3
Oglio, river, Pindar's party cross the, xliii, 105
Oil, obtained from the neighbourhood of Seville, xxii; exported from Ayamonte and Castro Marin, xxiii
Old Castile, 139, 142 *n.* 1
Olive trees, abundance of, near Seville, xxii; near Spalato, xxxix, 86
Ombersley, Worcestershire, home of George Sandys, 192 *n.* 3
Orestes, son of Agamemnon, founds Adrianople, 155; story of, 155 *n.* 7
Orge, river, 124 *n.* 2
Oria, river, 141 *n.* 4
Orient Express Railway, route of the, from Constantinople to Belgrade, xxviii, xxix
Orleans, compared with Sophia, 62 *n.* 1; Pindar's party reach, by boat, xlvi, 120–122, 227 *n.* 2; cost of boat-hire from Roanne to, 120, 228; Mundy's description of, 122; statue of Joan of Arc at, xlvii, 122, 122 *n.* 7; other descriptions of, 122 *n.* 7; Mundy's brief stay at, xlvii, 123; coaches hired from, to Paris, xlvii, 123; road from, to Toury described, xlvii, 123, 123 *n.* 6; execution of two men near, xlvii, 123; Pindar's route from, to Paris, xlvii, 123 *n.* 3; towns between Paris and, walled, 130; Mundy's second visit to, 116 *n.* 5
Orleans, Duke of, his cousin killed, 124; his castle at Montargis, 227
Orpheus, Mundy's allusion to, 61 *n.* 9; laments Eurydice, 152, 152 *n.* 5, 209; dismembered by the Thracians, 152, 152 *n.* 5
Orzi Nuovi, Pindar's party pass, xliii, 105; description of the country from Venice to, 105
Orzi Vecchi, Pindar's party lodge at, xliii. 105
Osbaston Hall, Leicestershire, the Mundys of, xiv
Osborne, T., his *Collection of Voyages* referred to, 146 *n.* 5
Osmān, eldest son of Ahmad, 22, 22 *n.* 1; deposes Mustafa, xxiv, 21 *n.* 6, 22, 22 *n.* 1, 178; plans to change his capital, 22 *n.* 1; his plot frustrated, 22 *n.* 1; makes peace with France, 43 *n.* 1; imprisoned and killed, 22 *n.* 1
Osmān I., insignia conferred on, 64 *n.* 1

Ossero, Pindar's party sail to, 88; situation of, 88, 88 *n.* 5
Ossero, Canal d', xl, 88 *n.* 6
Ossero, Monte, 88 *n.* 5
Otters, in England, 5
Ousson, Pindar's party pass, 121, 121 *n.* 7
Oxford, Earl of, the, acquires Pindar's copy of Mundy's early Travels, lx
Oxford English Dictionary, the, referred to. *See* Murray, Dr James A. H.

Padua, boat hired for Pindar's party from Venice to, xlii, 98; Mundy's description of, xlii, 99; Bargrave's description of, 99 *n.* 1; distance from Venice to, 99 *n.* 2; university at, xlii, 99 *n.* 2, 99 *n.* 5, 100, 100 *n.* 2; inn at, xlii, 99, 99 *n.* 3; Hall of Audience at, xlii, 99 *n.* 5; other descriptions of, 99 *n.* 5; Pindar hires caroches from, to Verona, xlii, 100; Thomas Humes remains at, xlii, 101; distance from, to Vicenza, 101 *n.* 2
Palais d'Orleans. *See* Luxembourg
Palangha, a small fort or stockade, Mundy's description of a, xxxiv, xxxv, 68, 68 *n.* 1; Des Hayes' description of a, 68 *n.* 1, 205; at Yagodin, Pindar's party halt at, 70; description of Hassan Pasha's, 71, 205; a, at Grotzka, 71; a, at Batotschina, 71 *n.* 1; why erected, 151, 205, 206
Palanka. *See* Bela Palanka; Hassan Pasha's Palanka
Pantler, a, appointed for Pindar, 110, 110 *n.* 2
Papas-cue, Bargrave halts at, 215
Papasli, Pindar's party dine at, xxviii, xxxi, 54; Poullet's spelling of, 54 *n.* 8
Paratjin, Parachin Palanka, Pindar's party pass, xxix, xxxiv, 70; other spellings of the name, 70 *n.* 4, 204; Des Hayes halts at, 204; inhabitants of, 204; inscriptions on the old road between Rashan and, 204
Parenzo, residence of the Capitano of Istria, xli *n.* 1
Paris, Pindar's party reach, xlvii, 42 *n.* 5, 46 *n.* 3; Mundy's route from Turin to, xliv–xlvii, 109 *n.* 3; Symonds' route from Turin to, 109 *n.* 3, 217 *n.* 1; coaches hired from Orleans to, xlvii, 123; road from Orleans to, described, xlvii, 123 *n.* 6, 130; road from Angerville to, described, xlvii, 124; Pindar's party lodge in the Rue St Martin at, xlvii, 124; Mundy's description of, xlvii, xlviii, 124–130; bridges in, xlvii, 124, 125; Luxembourg palace in, xlvii, 126; Louvre in, described, xlvii, 126–128, 224, 225; the Exchange in, xlvii, 129, 129 *n.* 4; coaches hired from, for Calais, xlviii, 130; Notre Dame at, description of, xlvii, xlviii, 130, 130 *n.* 1; Mundy's route to Beauvais from, xlviii, 131 *n.* 6; Gainsford's remarks on, 187; Symonds' description of, 217 *n.* 1, 223–227; the country between Beaumont and, described, 222; Symonds' expenses to Turin from, 235
Parker, Charles, Mundy resides with, at Seville, xv, xviii, 14
Pāshās, the, dethrone Mustafa, 22 *n.* 1. *See also s.v. Bāshās*
Pastimes in Turkey, Mundy's description of, 58, 59
Patinno, Señor Pedro, Mundy resides with, at Sanlucar, xviii, 14
Patna, Mundy's journey to, 7, 8, 10
Paul V., pope, canonizes Cardinal Boromeo, 106 *n.* 7; creates the Duke of Lerma a cardinal, 140 *n.* 2
Pausanias, 187
Payes, Adrian, sues Richard Lane for his son's debts, 42 *n.* 2
Pazaric or **Pasarij**, Pindar's party reach, xxxviii, 82; distance of, from Sarajevo, 82 *n.* 5; other spellings of the name, 82 *n.* 5
Pears, Edwin, his note on Troy, 157 *n.* 3
Pearson, J. B., his *Chaplains to the Levant Company* referred to, 23 *n.* 4, 179 *n.* 4
Peine forte et dure, history and description of, 5 *n.* 2
Penmaenmawr, compared with Mt. Cenis, 113 *n.* 5
Pennington, Captain, 45 *n.* 3
Pennington, William, a member of Pindar's train, 43
Penryn, Mundy's native town, xiii, xv, xvii, lxi, 13, 24; Mundy's visits to, xvi, l, liv, lvii, 2, 137, 143, 144; Mundy revises and concludes his MS. at, xvi, lviii, lix; other Mundys in, xiv, xv; a "free Schoole" at, xvii; Mundy's remarks on, lxii
Peons, 8

Pera, a suburb of Constantinople, xxviii, 22 *n.* 2, 27, 29, 44, 47 *n.* 1, 48 *n.* 3, 185, 187, 194, 214; English and French ambassadors reside at, xxv, xxvii, 41, 47 *n.* 3, 176, 214; the Levant Company's merchants reside at, xxv, 174; Galata included in, 190 *n.* 5; description of, 190; *bāshās* houses at, 191

Peramees, transit-boats, 38, 196; description of, 38 *n.* 2; other spellings of the name, 38 *n.* 2, 196; rowed by Egyptians, 196

Persia, 4, 19 *n.* 2; William Garraway agent in, liv; treaty between Constantinople and, 65 *n.* 1; Des Hayes' mission to, 199 *n.* 2

Persia, Emperor of. *See* Shāh 'Abbās

Perter Pāshā, Būrūn Kāsim entertained by, 65 *n.* 1

Peschiera, situation of, xlii, 104, 104 *n.* 1; castle at, xlii, 104, 104 *n.* 2

Petricevic, 85 *n.* 2

Pett, Captain Phineas, his request for Downing's lodgings, 170

Peyton, Sir Henry, commands English soldiers at Zara, xl, 88 *n.* 4, 92 *n.* 3; visits Pindar at Venice, 92; account of, 92 *n.* 3

Pharaon, Rue de. *See* Ferronerie, Rue de la

Philiba. *See* Philippopolis

Philip, of Macedon, builds Philippopolis, 54, 210

Philip II., King of Spain, invested with the Duchy of Milan, 105 *n.* 8; his daughter marries Charles Emanuel of Savoy, 110 *n.* 5; rebuilds the Plaza Mayor at Valladolid, 140 *n.* 6; born at Valladolid, 140 *n.* 1

Philip III. of Spain, concludes peace with England, 139 *n.* 4; account of the rise and fall of the favourite of, 140 *n.* 2

Philip IV. of Spain, born at Valladolid, 139 *n.* 4

Philipot, John, his *Perfect Collection of all Knights Batchelaurs* referred to, 179 *n.* 2

Philippic Fields, battles fought on the, 153, 210; compared with Marlborough Downs, 153; tumuli in the, 153, 154, 154 *n.* 1; location of the, 154 *n.* 1, 155

Philippine Is. *See* Manilas

Philippopolis, Filibe, 51 *n.* 4, 71 *n.* 1; Pindar's party reach, xxix, xxxi, xxxv, 54, 59; by whom built, 54, 55, 153, 210; situation of, 55, 210; descriptions of, xxxii, 54 *n.* 9, 210; battles fought near, 54 *n.* 9; plague at, 59, xxxii; road from Adrianople to, described, xxxi, 60, 210; Turkish name for, 154, 210; Blount's description of, 155

Piastre, 18 *n.* 3, 26 *n.* 1, 27 *n.* 2

Picardy, 138; Symonds' description of, 219–221

Piedmont, 148; under the Duke of Savoy, 108, 109 *n.* 3; boundary of, xlv, 113, 113 *n.* 1, 233; language of the people of, xlv, 112 *n.* 2, 114, 233; castles on the frontiers of, 233, 234

Piedmont, Prince of, title of eldest son of the Duke of Savoy, 109 *n.* 4, 116 *n.* 1

Pierrefitte, Pindar's party pass through, xlviii, 130; distance of, from St Denis, 130, 130 *n.* 6, 131 *n.* 6

Pilau, 37

Pilchards, Mundy goes to Seville with, xv, 1; trade in, from Cornwall, xvii, lii, 137; price of, at Barcelona, 137 *n.* 6

Pillars at Constantinople. *See* Columns

Pindar, Elizabeth, daughter of Ralph Pindar, 134 *n.* 8; wife of Thomas Spike, 134 *n.* 8

Pindar, Paul, nephew of Sir Paul Pindar, travels with the ex-ambassador, 41, 175 *n.* 2; made free of the Levant Company, 41 *n.* 5

Pindar, Sir Paul, ambassador at Constantinople, 10, 14 *n.* 11, 23 *n.* 5, 171, 175; succeeds Sir Thos. Glover, 175; applies for increased pay, 175, 176, 178; requests a preacher for Constantinople, 175; letters from, to the Levant Company, 14 *n.* 11, 22 *n.* 1, 175, 176, 177; desires to resign his post at Constantinople, 23 *n.* 5, 176; the Levant Company's opinion of, 176; increase of pay granted to, 177; complains of the treatment of the English by Ahmad, xxv, 177; recalled by the Levant Company, 177, 178; is succeeded by Sir John Eyre, xxvi, 179; leaves Constantinople, xxvii, 23, 36, 41, 178; his journey from Constantinople to London, xxvii–xlix, 41–136, 178; his train, xxvii, 41, 42, 43; hires waggons for his servants and bag-

gage, 44; his guard to Adrianople, xxxiii; his route to Belgrade, 45 *n.* 6, 199 *n.* 1; posts a watch round his camp, xxx, 46; his lodging-place at Adrianople, 49, 49 *n.* 3; forbids his followers to enter Philippopolis, xxxii, 59; orders his party to dismount and arm, xxxii, 61; visits the Viceroy of Rumelia at Sophia, xxxiii; a safe conduct granted to, 66, 67; forbears to "commandeer" provisions, xxxiv, 67; rewards the escort from Bela Palanka, 69; hires a house at Belgrade, 72; visits the *Kāzī* at Belgrade, xxxvi, 72; hires horses from Belgrade to Spalato, xxxvi; hires a house at Sarajevo, xxxviii, 81; his route to Spalato, xxxviii; his short detention in quarantine, xxxix, xl, 87, 88; cost of his hired house at Venice, xli, 91, 92; interchanges visits at Venice, xli, 92, 93; his route across Europe, xlii, 98–136, 214 *n.* 4; visits the sons of the Earl of Arundel, xlii, 100; exchanges visits with the Duke of Feria, xliii, 106; his reception at Turin, xliv, 109, 110; visits the family of the Duke of Savoy, xliv, 110, 110 *n.* 6; meets the Duke of Savoy on Mt. Cenis, xlv, 113; receives a present from the Prince of Piedmont, 115, 116; despatches his attendants from Lyons, xlvi, 119; his route from Orleans to Paris, xlvii, 123 *n.* 3; his lodging in Paris, xlvii; journeys from Paris to Calais by coach, xlvii, 130; is entertained by the Archbishop of Canterbury, xlix, 136; is met by his kinsmen at Dover, xlix; Mundy takes leave of, xlix, 136; his house at Islington, xlix; the Court complain of the extravagance of, 178; his accounts "considered," 178; knighted, 179; his house in Bishopsgate Street Without, xlix, l, 136 *n.* 3; recommends Dominico to the Levant Company, 42 *n.* 5; Lawrence Greene's case referred to, 44 *n.* 6; recommends Mundy to the E. I. Co., l; a copy of Mundy's early voyages left with, xlix, lvii, lviii, lx, 2; date of death of, 136 *n.* 3; errors in the biography of, 178, 179

Pindar, Ralph, meets his brother at Dover, xlix, 134; father of Paul Pindar, junior, 134 *n.* 7, 175 *n.* 2; entrusted with his brother's money matters, 134 *n.* 7, 175 *n.* 2

Pinkerton, John, his *Collection of Voyages* referred to, 146 *n.* 5. *See also s.v.* Pococke, Richard

Pirates, Turkish, 16, 171, 176

Pirot or **Sharkoi**, Pindar's party halt at, xxix, xxxiii, 66; the Janissaries leave Pindar at, xxxiii, xxxiv; description of, 66; other spellings of the name, 66 *n.* 4, 206; Des Hayes dines at, 206; Turks retire to, 208

Pisieux, Pindar's party lodge at, xlviii, 131; abbey at, 131 *n.* 6

Pistacia terebinthus, 29 *n.* 1

Pistole, value of a, 223, 223 *n.* 1, 235

Pisuerga, river, 140 *n.* 5

Plague, the, at Philippopolis, xxxii, 59; at Constantinople, xxiv, 23, 23 *n.* 3, 40, 192

Plataea, battle of, 195 *n.* 4

Po, river, Pindar's party cross the, 109 *n.* 5

Pococke, his route from Constantinople to Adrianople, 45 *n.* 6; his *Description of the East* referred to, *see* notes on pp. 46, 47, 48, 49, 60; his *Travels* (*Add. MS.* 22978) referred to, 129 *n.* 2, 133 *n.* 4

Poitiers, 116 *n.* 5, 128, 128 *n.* 4

Poix de Picardy, Pindar's party dine at, xlviii, 131; distance of, from Abbeville, 220; Symonds' description of the village and neighbourhood of, 220, 221

Pola, harbour at, xl, xli, 89, 89 *n.* 4

Poland, 68 *n.* 4; Mundy's travels in, xvi, 1; Bargrave's travels in, 215

Poll-tax, a, levied on Christians by the Turks, 26 *n.* 1, 186

Polonia. *See* Poland

Pompey, his contest with Augustus Caesar, 153, 154, 154 *n.* 1

Pompey's Pillar, Mundy's visit to, xxv, 21, 24; situation of, 20, 191; Lithgow's description of, 20 *n.* 4; Hobhouse's description of, 20 *n.* 4; remains of, now existing, 191 *n.* 3; Sandys' description of, 197; a lighthouse near, 197

Pondicherry, Peter Wyche, junior, merchant at, 165

Pondormy. *See* Pont Remy

Pont de Beauvoisin, at the [illegible] dary of Savoy, xlvi, 116 *n* 230; Pindar awaits his at, xlvi, 118; Symonds' de of, 230

Pont Neuf, the, in Paris, Mundy's description of, xlvii, 125; other descriptions of, 125 *n.* 5; pump, clock and statue on, 125, 125 *n.* 5, 227
Pont Notre Dame, in Paris, description of the, 125 *n.* 1
Ponto Grande. *See* Bìyuk Chekméjé
Ponto Piccolo. *See* Kūchuk Chekméjé
Pont Remy, Pindar's party lodge at, xlviii, 131; origin of the name, 131 *n.* 9, 221; bridge at, 221
Pont St Michel, in Paris, description of the, 125 *n.* 1
Porcupine, flesh of the, palatable, xxiv, 19, 20
Portsmouth, Joshua Downing commissioner at, 169
Portugal, Mundy goes to, 14, 24
Portuguese, the, Mundy's relations with, in China, 9
Posthouse, the, at Aiguebelette, 118, 118 *n.* 3; at Bourgoin, 118, 118 *n.* 7; at Novalese, 112, 112 *n.* 2, 233 *n.* 4; at La Verpillière, xlvi, 118; at Aiguebelle, 231
Posting, in France, 138, 139
Potarzeeke, situation of, 152, 154; plain of, 155
Pougues, country around, woody, 228; Symonds' expenses at, 235
Poullet, Le Sieur, his *Nouvelles Relations du Levant* referred to, *see* notes on pp. 46, 47, 49, 51, 52, 54, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 82, 88; his route from Belgrade to Constantinople, 45 *n.* 6
Pourbus, paints the portrait of Marie de Medici, xlvii, 127, 127 *n.* 4
Pratique, at Leghorn, 17; definition of, 17 *n.* 2; Dallam's account of, 17 *n.* 2; Pindar's party granted, xl, 87; Bargrave's difficulty in obtaining, 90 *n.* 1
Preface, Mundy's own, to his Travels, 2–6
Pressing to Death. *See Peine forte et dure*
Priedieu, Rue, Symonds lodges in the, 224
Prologh Mountains, the, Pindar's party cross, xxxix, 83 *n.* 4, 84 *n.* 1, 84 *n.* 7. 85 *n.* 2
Propontick Sea. *See* Marmora, Sea of
Prosor, Pindar's party halt near, 83 *n.* 6, 84 *n.* 1
Protestants, on the banks of the Loire, 122
Prussia, Mundy's travels in, xvi, lviii, 1, 6, 9
Pueblo de los Angelos, Mundy's intended voyage to, 6 *n.* 2
Puerto de St Adrian, Mundy crosses the, li, 141
Punishments for offenders, in Turkey, 55, 56, 57
Punta di Promontore, Pindar's party pass the, xl, 89
Purchas his Pilgrimage, referred to, lvi, 26, 43 *n.* 2, 51 *n.* 1, 62 *n.* 2
Purchas his Pilgrimes, referred to, *see* notes on pp. 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 47, 55, 56, 57
Puttana. *See* Patna
Pūzentin, King, 33 *n.* 1
Pyramid, the Egyptian, in the At-maidān, 33, 33 *n.* 2

Qaramusal, a Turkish merchantman, 38 *n.* 3
Quarantine, at Spalato, rules as to, xxxix, xl, lv, 86, 87; John Clarke released from, xl, 87, 91 *n.* 4; Bargrave's party in, 90 *n.* 1
Quarnero, Gulf of, Pindar's party cross the, xl, 89, 89 *n.* 1
Quatre Vents, Les, Symonds lodges at, 224
Queens Arms, at Dover, 218
Queva, Don Alfonso della, Spanish ambassador at Venice, 93 *n.* 3
Quicksilver, Mundy takes a consignment of, to Patna, 7
Quiervansaras. *See Khāns*
Quintal, a weight, xix, xix *n.* 5
Qūrut chesme, dried up spring, Pindar's party pass the village of, xxix, 67; why deserted, 67; other spellings of the name, 67 *n.* 4; Des Hayes halts at, 205

Rabenett, Thomas, complains of Joshua Downing, 169
Ragusa, 73 *n.* 4
Rainbow, the, 169
Rajapur, Mundy's voyage to, 10
Ralegh, Sir Walter, 45 *n.* 3; his *History of the World* referred to, lvi, 19 *n.* 2, 154 *n.* 1
Ram, the, at Aiguebelle, 116
Rama, river, Pindar's party follow the, xxxviii, 83, 83 *n.* 4, 83 *n.* 5
Rama, village, the Rama and Narenta join at, 83, 83 *n.* 4

Ramasser, meaning of the term, 114 *n.* 1
Rascia (Novibazar), 78 *n.* 1
Rashan or **Razan**, Pindar's party lodge in a *khān* at, xxix, xxxiv, 70; Des Hayes halts at, 204
Rastell, Thomas, President of Surat, 7
Ravaillac, François, murders Henri IV., 129, 129 *n.* 2
Rawlinson MS. A. 315, the only complete copy of Mundy's Travels, lvii, lx; illustrations in, lx, 4 *n.* 1; maps in, lx, 6 *n.* 1; dates covered by, 10 *n.* 3
Rawl. MS. A. 414 (Sir Erasmus Harby's MS.), 160 *n.* 5, 163 *n.* 5
Rawl. MS. C. 799. *See* Bargrave, Robert
Rawl. MS. D. 120 (*Travels* in 1648–9), referred to, *see* notes on pp. 91, 95, 96, 99, 102, 104, 107, 119, 120, 122, 129, 131, 133, 134, 138
Rawl. MS. D. 197. *See* Englefield, Sir Francis
Rawl. MS. D. 207 (*Passage over the Alpes*), referred to, 111 *n.* 4, 112 *n.* 2, 113 *n.* 2
Rawl. MS. D. 1285 (*Travels* in 1633), referred to, 129 *n.* 1
Rawl. MS. D. 1785. *See* Abdy, Sir Thomas
Rawlinson, Thomas, becomes possessor of the Mundy MS., lxiii
R. B., his *Epitome of all the Lives of the Kings of France*, &c. referred to, 125 *n.* 5, 129 *n.* 2
Reichs Dollar, 27
Rhaetian Alps, 153 *n.* 1
Rhodes, Blount's Voyage to, 146
Rhodope, mountains, xxxi, xxxii, 61 *n.* 9; connection of the, with Orpheus, 152, 152 *n.* 5, 209; Des Hayes' remarks on the, 209
Rhone, river, 118 *n.* 4; at Lyons, 119 *n.* 2, 119 *n.* 3, 229; water mills on the, xlvi, 119, 119 *n.* 3, 149; rapidity of the, 229
Rialto, Ponte di, xlii, 28, 91, 97, 97 *n.* 5, 189; when built, 91 *n.* 2; description of, 91 *n.* 2
Rialton Manor, the Mundys of, xiv, xv
Ricardo, an Italian, joins Pindar's train at Padua, 101
Richelieu, Cardinal, Des Hayes allied with the enemies of, 199 *n.* 2; palace of, 224; besieges Montmélian, 230
Roanne, Pindar's party post to, from Lyons, 120; description of, 120 *n.* 1, 120 *n.* 2, 228; Pindar overtakes his attendants at, xlvi, 120; cost of boat-hire from, to Orleans, 120, 120 *n.* 3, 228; first navigable town on the Loire, 120 *n.* 2; Pindar's party take a boat from, to Orleans, xlvi, 122; boats hired from, sold at Orleans, 123, 228
Robbers, Pindar's precautions against, xxxii; infest the country between Philippopolis and Sophia, 61; travellers, how warned of, 61, 152, 209; among the Balkan Mts., 61 *n.* 3, 151, 209; numerous, between Ikhtiman and Sophia, 62; on the road between Sophia and Nissa, xxxiii, 66, 205, 206; near Batotschina, 71 *n.* 1; punished by staking, xxxii, xxxv, xxxvi, 71, 72, 206; near Valjevo, xxxvi, 78, 78 *n.* 5, 149; among the Prologh Mts., xxxix, 84
Robbin, a cook, member of Pindar's train, 43
Robson, Charles, his *News from Aleppo* referred to, 17 *n.* 3, 19 *n.* 2
Rochester, xlix, 135
Roe, Sir Thomas, ambassador at Constantinople, 14 *n.* 11, 41 *n.* 3, 163; Lawrence Greene's case referred to, 44 *n.* 6; succeeds Sir John Eyre, 181
Roi, Rue de, Symonds lodges in, 223
Rokeby, Colonel, Symonds entertains his captains, 223
Romanja Planina, Pindar's party ascend the, xxxvii, 80; other spellings of the name, 80 *n.* 4
Rome, despoiled to adorn Constantinople, 192
Rosa Rossa, the, at Turin, 235
Roshneah. *See* Rashan
Rouen, Mundy's first visit to, xiii, xv, xvii, xviii, 13, 24; description of, xviii, xix, xx; Mundy's second visit to, 116 *n.* 5; situation of, xviii; bore at, xviii, xix; great bell at, xix
Roumania, 210; language of, 207; how separated from Servia, 209
Rovigno, 146 *n.* 1, 147 *n.* 1; Pindar's party land at, xli, 89; governor of, entertains Pindar, xli, xli *n.* 1, 89; situation and description of, 147; under the government of Venice, 147
Royall Mary, the, Mundy sails to England in, xvi, lvii, 8, 10

Royall Merchant, the, Mundy sails to Constantinople in, xv, xxiii, liii, 14, 160, 174; passengers in the, xxiii; sailing orders of, 14 *n.* 10, 166–168; owned by Sir Morris Abbot, 15 *n.* 1, 166; freight for goods on, 167; goods to be carried by, 167; charter-party of, 167; Joshua Downing commands, 167, 168; goods prohibited on, 167; measures taken for the protection of, 168
Rumelia, 61 *n.* 1, 62 *n.* 2; Viceroy of, xxxiii, 62, 62 *n.* 2, 63, 152, 208, 211; Adrianople under the government of, 211
Rusko Blato, possibly Mundy's "great Lake," xxxix, 84 *n.* 7
Russia, 191; Mundy's travels in, xvi, 1, 6, 9, 11; Richard Wyche, senior, trades to, 161; Des Hayes' mission to, 199 *n.* 2
Ryalls, 27, 137 *n.* 6

Sacra Porta. *See* Constantinople, harbour at
S. Adrian, grotto of, li, 141, 141 *n.* 6, 142, 142 *n.* 1
S. Adrian, Mts. of, li, 141, 142 *n.* 1
S. Ambrosio, Symonds halts at, 233; description of, 233
S. Andrea, castle, situation of, 90 *n.* 2
S. Andrea, Fort, at entrance to the lagoons of Venice, 89 *n.* 8, 90 *n.* 2
S. Andrea del Lido, Pindar's party enter Venice by, xli, 89, 89 *n.* 8
S. Aubin-sur-Loire, Pindar's party pass, xlvi, 120, 228 *n.* 5
S. Benoît, Pindar's party pass, 122, 122 *n.* 3
St Brice, Pindar's party pass through, xlviii, 131, 131 *n.* 6; Du Verdier's name for, 131 *n.* 1
St Christopher's, in Paris, Symonds lodges at, 223
St Cloud, Symonds' visit to, 224
St Columb Minor, the Mundys of, xiv, xv
St Denis, Pindar's party pass through, xlviii, 130, 131 *n.* 6; Heylyn's description of, 130 *n.* 5; abbey at, 222; Symonds visits, 224
St Denis, Rue, in Paris, 129 *n.* 2, 226
St Dunstans-in-the-East, Richard Wyche buried in, 159; monument to Richard Wyche in, 159; Lady Harby buried in, 163, 164
St Germain, Fauxbourg, 224, 225
St Germain, palace, 224
St Gluvias, no mention of Richard Mundy in the registers of, xiv
St Helena, I., Mundy's arrival at, 9
St Helier, capital of Jersey, 144, 144 *n.* 3
St Innocents, in Paris, bones in the churchyard of, xlvii, xlviii, 129, 129 *n.* 2, 226; reported quality of the earth in the yard of, 129, 129 *n.* 3; Symonds' description of, 226; the burying-place of strangers, 226
St Jacque, Rue de, Symonds lodges in, 223
St James's Park, compared with the Seraglio at Constantinople, 28, 188; compared with the gardens of the Louvre, 128 *n.* 1
St Jean de Maurienne, Pindar's party lodge at, 115; description of, xlv, 115 *n.* 6; a Bishop's See at, 116, 231; Mundy's commendation of, xlv, 117; Symonds' description of, 231, 232
St John Delio. *See* S. Andrea del Lido
St John d'Ulloa, Mundy's intended voyage to, 6; situation of, 6 *n.* 2
St Lawrence. *See* Madagascar
St Louis, picture of, in the Louvre, 225
St Lucas. *See* Sanlucar de Barrameda
St Malo, Mundy's visit to, xvi, lii, 143, 144, 145; Mundy's description of, 143; tide at, 143, 143 *n.* 8, 143 *n.* 9; how guarded, lii, 143, 143 *n.* 10, 144 *n.* 1; Mundy returns to, 144, 145
St Margaret's Church, Lothbury, Sir Hugh Wyche buried in, 158
S. Maria, a bell in the Giralda at Seville, xxi, xxi *n.* 2
St Mark's, square and tower, at Venice, xli, 90, 91, 97, 97 *n.* 2
St Martin, Rue de, in Paris, Pindar's party lodge in the, xlvii, 124, 124 *n.* 8
St Mary Port, 14 *n.* 1
St Michael Arckangell. *See* Archangel
St Michel, Pindar's party dine at, xlv, 115; description of, 115 *n.* 5, 232
S. Nicolo, Fort, at entrance to the lagoons of Venice, 89 *n.* 8, 90 *n.* 2
St Pablo, Dominican convent of, at Valladolid, 140 *n.* 3; rebuilt by Torquemada, 140 *n.* 3; restored by the Duke of Lerma, 140, 140 *n.* 3

S. Pietro da Castello, at the entrance to the lagoons of Venice, 90 *n.* 2
S. Romano, Military Gate, the Turks enter Constantinople by the, 193 *n.* 2
St Sebastian, Mundy arrives at, l, li, 139, 139 *n.* 3, 145; Mundy returns to, li, 141; route from, to Victoria described, 141, 142, 142 *n.* 1
St Sophia, mosque of, at Constantinople, 29, 30, 35, 195; description of, 35 *n.* 3, 185, 185 *n.* 1, 189, 194; view of Constantinople from, 191; length and height of, 194
St Vincent, Cape, xxiii, 16
Sāis, a groom, 43 *n.* 3
Salisbury, situation of, compared with Beauvais, 221
Salisbury, Cadwallader, the Levant Company's chaplain at Constantinople, 23 *n.* 4
Salona, 85 *n.* 4; siege of, 147 *n.* 3; rebuilt, 147 *n.* 3
Salt, brought to Belgrade, xxxv, 75; whence extracted, 75 *n.* 1
Salter, Robert, escorts Pindar from Constantinople, 45, 47, 47 *n.* 1; made free of the Levant Company, 45 *n.* 5; owner of the *Margaret*, 45 *n.* 5
Salter, William, Consul at Smyrna, 45 *n.* 5, 45 *n.* 6
Saltingstall, Elizabeth, marries Richard Wyche, senior, 158, 159
Saltingstall, Sir Richard, Lord Mayor of London, his daughter marries Richard Wyche, senior, 158, 159
Saltpetre, 8
Samaritan, the, of Dartmouth, 42 *n.* 2
Samos, Blount's description of, 157 *n.* 4
Sancerre, situation of, 121, 122, 122 *n.* 1; Protestant stronghold at, xlvi, 121, 228; description of, 121 *n.* 3
Sancy, Baron de, French ambassador at Constantinople, 43 *n.* 1; imprisonment of, 43 *n.* 1
Sanderson, John, *Voyage* of. *See Purchas His Pilgrimes*
Sandys, Edwin, Archbishop of York, father of George Sandys, 192 *n.* 3
Sandys, George, his *Travels* referred to, *see* notes on pp. 3, 18, 20, 21, 26, 30, 31, 32, 35, 38, 56, 87, 102; Mundy quotes from his work, lvi, lix, 26, 192–198; full title of his *Travels*, 192 *n.* 3; life and works of, 192 *n.* 3
Sanita, Pindar's certificate of health inspected by the, 90; officer of the, at Venice, grants a pass to Pindar, 90
Sanlucar de Barrameda, Mundy goes as cabin-boy to, 14, 24; situation of, xvii, 14 *n.* 1; Mundy lives at, with Mr Parker, xv, xvii, xviii, xx; Duke of Medina Sidonia dies at, xx
Saone, river, at Lyons, xlvi, 119, 119 *n.* 2, 229
Sarai, 148 *n.* 3
Sarajevo, 83 *n.* 5; Pindar's party reach, xxxvii, 81; descriptions of, xxxviii, 81, 81 *n.* 3, 81 *n.* 4, 82 *n.* 1, 82 *n.* 3; people of, xxxviii, lv, 81, 148; distance of, from Belgrade, 81 *n.* 2; castle at, xxxviii, 81, 81 *n.* 5, 148; other names for, 81 *n.* 2; Blount's remarks on, 81 *n.* 2, 146, 148; mosques at, xxxviii, 82; floating mills at, xxxviii, 82, 82 *n.* 3; horses hired at, xxxvii, 82; description of the country beyond, xxxvii, 82; railway from, to Mostar, xxxviii, 83 *n.* 4; derivation of the name, 148 *n.* 3; unpopularity of Europeans at, xxxvii, 81; time occupied in the journey from Belgrade to, xxxvii; difficulty of the journey from, to Spalato, xli
Sardica. *See* Sophia
Sardinia, 15 *n.* 7
Saros, rock-salt obtained from, 75 *n.* 1
Save, river, 68 *n.* 4, 73, 74, 74 *n.* 1, 78 *n.* 4, 80, 149, 200; flows unmingled with the Danube, xxxv, 150, 150 *n.* 2
Savoy, map of, in Mundy's MS., 6 *n.* 1, 112 *n.* 2, 115 *n.* 2, 115 *n.* 6, 118 *n.* 2; ambassador from, to Venice, xli, 93; hostilities between Spain and, 110 *n.* 5; boundary of, xliv, xlv, 113, 113 *n.* 1, 116 *n.* 5, 118, 230, 233; Symonds' travels in, 217, 230–233; bishoprics in, 233
Savoy, Duke of, his family, xliv; his ambassador at Venice, 93 *n.* 4; extent of his territories, 108, 108 *n.* 5; absent from Turin on Pindar's arrival, 109; meets Pindar on Mt. Cenis, xlv, 113; his heir, xlv; *see also s. v.* Charles Emanuel.
Savoyards, language of the, 114, 114 *n.* 2, 115, 115 *n.* 1, 230, 231, 233; the, suffer from goître, 117 *n.* 5

Scanderoon, 146 *n.* 1; Mundy touches at, 15 *n.* 4, 16, 24, 166, 167, 174; the seaport of Aleppo, xxiv, 19; unhealthiness of, xxiv, 19; situation of, xxiv, 19; wild beasts at, 19; Levant Company's representative at, 19 *n.* 1; Dallam's description of, 19 *n.* 2; Robson's description of, 19 *n.* 2; location of battlefields near, 19 *n.* 2
Scio, an English Consul at, 16 *n.* 4, 44 *n.* 6; Richard Wyche trades to, 161; Edward Wyche meets Lady Wyche at, 164; the *Royall Merchant* bound to, 16, 166, 167, 168
Sclavonia, 146, 147 *n.* 4
Scroles, Henry, nephew of Joshua Downing, 170
Scroles, Jasper, nephew of Joshua Downing, 170
Scroles, Mrs, sister of Joshua Downing, 170
Scutari, 30, 65 *n.* 1, 191, 194; situation of, 197; tower at, 197
Seale, Humphrey, beadle to the Levant Company, 42 *n.* 4
Seale, Mr, travels in Pindar's train, 42
Seine, river, bore at the mouth of the, xviii, xix; bridges over the, at Paris, xlvii, 124, 125, 125 *n.* 5
Selibrea, Selymbria. *See* Silivri
Selim I., mosque of, 35 *n.* 4; his treasure kept in the Seven Towers, 185; defeat of, by Bāyazīd II., 212
Selim II., 185; injures the Column of Serpents, 33 *n.* 1
Semaroromo Blato, probably Mundy's "great lake," xxxix, 84 *n.* 7
Semendria, 201
Sept Voies, Rue de, Symonds lodges in the, 223
Sequins, 18 *n.* 3, 166, 177, 186; value of, 26 *n.* 2, 27; Venetian, value of, 119 *n.* 6
Seraglios, at Constantinople, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 35, 35 *n.* 5, 39 *n.* 1, 184, 187, 188, 189, 194, 197, 198; at Adrianople, xxx, 49, 49 *n.* 4, 156, 211
Serio, river, 106, 106 *n.* 2
Serpents, infest Constantinople, 33 *n.* 1; Column of, 33, 33 *n.* 1, 185
Servia, 68 *n.* 4, 69 *n.* 5, 201; Belgrade on the confines of, 199; the Nissava separates Bulgaria from, 204; Christians in, 205; cheapness of provisions in, 205; compared with Bulgaria, 206
Servians (Bulgarians), Mundy's description of, lv
Sestos, castle, on the European side of the Dardanelles, 157, 157 *n.* 2, 197, 198
Seven Towers, the, at Constantinople, 27, 29, 31, 184, 189; situation of, 31 *n.* 2; various descriptions of, 31 *n.* 2, 184, 187; Baron de Sancy imprisoned in, 43 *n.* 1; treasure guarded in, 184, 185
Seville, Mundy's visits to, xviii, 14, 24, 97 *n.* 4, 145; Mundy learns Spanish in, xviii, 14; Giralda at, xx, 97, 137 *n.* 5; Mundy goes to, with pilchards, xiii, xv, l, 137; Mundy resides with Mr Weaver at, xv; Mundy's description of, xx–xxii; fertility of the surroundings of, xxii; ceremony at the coming of the King of Spain into, xxii
Shāh 'Abbās, makes peace with Turkey, 65; his envoy, 65 *n.* 1
Shāhī, a coin, 76 *n.* 4
Shāh Jahān, emperor, 4 *n.* 3; his entry into Agra, 8; his garden, 8
Shakespeare, William, his *Winter's Tale* referred to, 18 *n.* 2
Shamberly. *See* Chambery
Sharkoi. *See* Pirot
Shawgurre, Mundy's journey from Agra to, 7
Sherbet, manufacture of, 63, 63 *n.* 3
Shirley, Sir Thomas, imprisoned by the Turks, 50 *n.* 2
Sian, Pindar's party dine at, xliv, 109; distance of, from Turin, 109 *n.* 1
Sicily, 16, 17, 17 *n.* 3
Sigismund III., of Poland, intrigues with Caspar Gratiani, 51 *n.* 3; his forces defeated at Jassy, 51 *n.* 3
Silivri, 34 *n.* 1, 73 *n.* 4; road from Constantinople to, 46 *n.* 2; Pindar's party encamp near, xxviii, xxx, 47; descriptions of, 47 *n.* 3, 156, 212, 213; other spellings of the name, 47 *n.* 3, 156; antiquity of, xxx, 213, 215
Silver Lion, the, at Calais, 133 *n.* 4
Silver mines, on the way to Sarajevo, 80
Simois, river, 157 *n.* 3
Sinope, ravaged by Cossacks, 63 *n.* 1
Sipahi (spahee), sepoy, 68 *n.* 3, 203, 204; a guard of, escort Pindar, xxxiii, 67; of whom composed, 67 *n.* 1; at Adrianople, 211

Sittingbourne, Pindar's party reach, xlix, 135; Symonds passes through, 218
Skinners' Company, connection of the Wyche family with, 158, 159
Slade, Captain James, commander of the *Royall Mary*, 8, 10
Sloane MSS. referred to, 811, *see* Bell, Richard; 2142, *see* notes on pp. 17, 93, 99, 104, 125, 127, 128, 132, 153; 4217, *see* notes on pp. 114, 116, 118; 4223, *see* 218 *n.* 5
Smith, John, escorts Pindar from Constantinople, 45, 46
Smithfield, compared with the At-maidān, 195
Smolensk, Mundy's intended journey to, 6
Smyrna, xxv, 16, 44 *n.* 6, 45 *n.* 5, 161, 172, 173
Smyth, his *Sailors Word Book* referred to, 136 *n.* 2
Soave, 101 *n.* 4
Sol, soldi, value of, 92 *n.* 1, 100 *n.* 4, 119, 119 *n.* 8, 123, 235
Somerset House, wills at, referred to, 158 *n.* 4, 160 *n.* 1, 162 *n.* 2, 163 *n.* 3, 164 *n.* 4, 170 *n.* 1, 179 *n.* 5, 182 *n.* 2
Somme, river, 131 *n.* 9, 138 *n.* 4
Soncino, Pindar's party pass, xliii, 105; under Spanish rule, xliii, 105, 105 *n.* 6
Sophia, Sofia, 65, 71 *n.* 1; Pindar's party reach, xxix, 62; descriptions of, xxxiii, 62 *n.* 1, 151, 152, 206, 207, 208; other names for, 62 *n.* 1, 207; situation of, xxxii, 63, 207, 209; description of the country from, to Nissa, 66, 66 *n.* 2, 206, 208; Christian villages in the neighbourhood of, 206; climate of, 207, 208; residence of the Viceroy of Rumelia, xxxiii, 208; country between Philippopolis and, infested by robbers, xxxii, 209
Sorbonne, College, 224
South Seas, 6; places included in the term, 5 *n.* 1
Spain, trade between Cornwall and, xvii; Mundy's travels in, l, li, lxi, 1; ambassador from, to Venice, xli, 93; territory in Italy, under the rule of, 105, 105 *n.* 6; hostilities between Savoy and, 110 *n.* 5; peace concluded between England and, 139 *n.* 4
Spalato, 49 *n.* 4, 84 *n.* 1, 85 *n.* 5, 91 *n.* 4, 92 *n.* 3; pratique observed at, 17 *n.* 2; cost of horse-hire from Sarajevo to, xxxvii, 82; situation of, 82 *n.* 4, 86, 86 *n.* 3, 147; route from Sarajevo to, xxxviii, 83 *n.* 4; Mundy's route from, to Turin, 84 *n.* 4, 136; cultivation of the country surrounding, xl, 86; lazaretto at, xxxix, xl, 86; derivation of the name, 86 *n.* 3; ruins of castles at, 86, 86 *n.* 4; Count of, entertains Pindar, xl, 88; fortification of, 88, 148; under the Venetians, 147; uselessness of the harbour at, 147, 148; tribute paid to the Turks at, 147, 147 *n.* 4
Spanish language, Mundy learns the, at Seville, 14
Spanyi, his painting of Clissa, 85 *n.* 4
Spike family, the, connected with the Pindars, 134 *n.* 8
Spike, Lawrence, travels in Pindar's train, 42; recommended as a purser, 42 *n.* 1; his connection with Pindar, 134 *n.* 8
Spike, Thomas, meets Pindar at Dover, xlix, 134, 134 *n.* 8; husband of Elizabeth Pindar, 134 *n.* 8
Spread Eagle, the, at Orzi Vecchi, xliii, 105, 105 *n.* 1
Srebreniza, site of the ancient silver mines, xxxvii, 80 *n.* 3
Staking, a punishment for robbers, xxxii, xxxv, xxxvi, 55, 71, 71 *n.* 7, 206; description of, lv, lviii, 55; illustration of, 55, 58; various accounts of, 55 *n.* 4
Stamboul. *See* Constantinople
Stamo, a Greek, member of Pindar's train, 44; left at Adrianople, xxx, xxxi, 50
Stampes, Mr, his journey to Constantinople, 73 *n.* 4
Standards, Turkish, 63, 64; origin of the, of the seven Horse-tails, 64 *n.* 1
Staple, Richard, emissary to Murād III., 171
State Papers, Foreign Archives, referred to, *see* notes on pp. xxiii, xxvii, 15, 22, 41, 42, 44, 45, 92, 93, 100, 106, 108, 134, 138, 141, 159, 163, 164, 166, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181
Stow, John, his *Survey of London* referred to, 59 *n.* 1, 159 *n.* 4
Stowe MSS., 180 referred to, 73 *n.* 4; 916 referred to, 132 *n.* 8, 133 *n.* 5
Straights, the. *See* Mediterranean Sea, the
Strasburg, Des Hayes travels to Belgrade by way of, 214 *n.* 4

Strawberries, abundance of, on the way to Sarajevo, xxxvii, 79
Stringar, Edward, escorts Pindar from Constantinople, 44; treasurer to the Levant Company at Constantinople, 44 *n.* 1
Stromboli, I. and Mt., Mundy's description of, xxiv, 17, 18; Lithgow's description of, 17 *n.* 3; Robson's description of, 17 *n.* 3; Bell's description of, 17 *n.* 3
Struys, John, his *Voyages and Travels* quoted, 17 *n.* 1, 18 *n.* 3, 20 *n.* 2
Styria, 68 *n.* 4
Suçuraz, a Venetian castle, 85, 85 *n.* 5; situation of, 85 *n.* 5
Sulaimān, Sultan, xxx, 31 *n.* 1, 35 *n.* 4, 35 *n.* 5, 48 *n.* 3, 62 *n.* 2; the Magnificent, his altercation with Mustafa Pasha, 52; his conquests in Hungary, 52, 52 *n.* 1, 149, 149 *n.* 4, 201; his mosque at Adrianople, 156, 211; enlarges the aqueduct at Constantinople, 184, 195; mosque of, at Constantinople, 189
Sully, Pindar's party pass, 122; description of, 122 *n.* 2
Sultans of Turkey. *See* Grand Signior
Sumatra, 5; Mundy's voyage to, 1, 9
Sūmpāreh, red emery stone, 35 *n.* 2
Surat, Mundy's voyage to, xvi, 7, 10; events at, during Mundy's stay, 7; Mundy's journey from Agra to, 8; Mundy's departure from, 8; Bernard Wyche a merchant at, 165; Nathaniel Wyche, President of, dies at, liv, 165
Surendeh, a sage, 33 *n.* 1
Susa, 112 *n.* 2
Swabia, 201
Swally, the "Mareene" at, 8
Swanley, Captain Richard, commander of the *Jonah*, 7
Sweden, Des Hayes' mission to, 199 *n.* 2
Swinging, in Turkey, how practised, 58, 59; illustration of, 58
Switzers, appointed as a body-guard for Pindar, 110; origin of, 110 *n.* 1
Syces, horsekeepers, grooms, 43
Symes, Randolph (or Randall), accompanies Pindar to Vicenza, xlii, 100, 101; employed by the Levant Company, xlii, 100 *n.* 5
Symonds, Anna, mother of Richard Symonds, 218 *n.* 5
Symonds, Anne, sister of Richard Symonds, 218 *n.* 5
Symonds, Edward (or Edmund), father of Richard Symonds, 216 *n.* 1, 218 *n.* 5
Symonds, Edward, brother of Richard Symonds, 218 *n.* 5
Symonds, John, brother of Richard Symonds, 218 *n.* 5
Symonds, Richard, his Note-books (*Harl. MSS.* 943 and 1278) referred to, *see* notes on pp. 105, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 127, 129, 130, 131, 132, 134, 135; quotations from his note-books, 217–235; contents of his note-books, 217 *n.* 1; birth and parentage of, 217 *n.* 1; his only published MS., 217 *n.* 1; his notes of expenses during his travels, 217, 218, 222, 223, 224, 235

Talismans, in Constantinople, 33 *n.* 1, 34 *n.* 2, 35 *n.* 2
Tarare, Pindar's train post to, xlvi, 119; description of, 119 *n.* 7, 229; cost of horse hire from Lyons to, 119, 119 *n.* 8; Symonds' remarks on the country between Roanne and, 229
Tatar Bazarjik, Pindar's party dine at, xxix, xxxii, 60; Poullet's description of, 60 *n.* 4; other spellings of the name, 60 *n.* 4; Des Hayes' description of, 209; *Khān* at, 209
Tāūk-Bāzār, poultry-market, 35 *n.* 2
Taurunum. *See* Belgrade
Taurus, mountain, 19 *n.* 2
Tavernier, J. B., his *Collections of Travels* referred to, 35 *n.* 5, 36 *n.* 1, 64 *n.* 1
Tavira, Mundy visits, xxii, 14, 24; situation of, xxii *n.* 5, 14 *n.* 5
Tayfoo, at the mouth of the Canton river, 9, 11
Taylor, Major John, his *Travels from England to India* referred to, 60 *n.* 5, 66 *n.* 4, 69 *n.* 2, 99 *n.* 3, 101 *n.* 3
Tea, Thomas Garraway the first retailer of, 14 *n.* 11
Teodora, a Russian, a member of Pindar's train, 43; acts as interpreter, 78, 78 *n.* 2
Terjuman, interpreter, 42 *n.* 5
Teutamos, Eumenes taken by, 154 *n.* 1
Thames, river, xlix
Thebes, 188
Theiss, river, 75 *n.* 3

Theobalds, Captain Henry, visits Pindar at Venice, 92; reprieved prisoners sent to, as soldiers, 92 *n.* 5
Theodosius, Emperor, 32 *n.* 1, 35 *n.* 2, 48 *n.* 3; sets up a column at Constantinople, 195, 195 *n.* 3
Thermopylae, Mundy's idea of its situation, 61 *n.* 6; located by Blount, 152, 152 *n.* 6, 153, 154 *n.* 1
Thessaly, 146, 151, 152, 152 *n.* 5, 154 *n.* 1
Thevenot, Monsieur de, his *Travels into the Levant* referred to, *see* notes on pp. 21, 31, 32, 33, 37, 38, 39, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58, 81
Thieves. *See* Robbers
Thomas-Francis, Prince of Carignan, son of the Duke of Savoy, 110 *n.* 6
Thorneton, Captain, Englishman, residing at Abbeville, 132
Thou (*tūgh*), 64 *n.* 1
Thrace, 146, 152, 152 *n.* 5, 155, 183, 187, 213
Three Blackamoors, the, at Arpajon (Châtres), xlvii, 124
Three Flower de Luces, the, at Avigliana, xliv, 111; at Bramant, 115; at Lyons, 119; at Toury, 123
Three Kings, the, at Lanslebourg, xlv, 114; at Lyons, 119 *n.* 5; at Milan, xliii, 106, 106 *n.* 4; at Novara, 108, 108 *n.* 3; at Vicenza, xlii, 101
Three Mores Heads, the, in Paris, 223
Three Pigeons, the, at Bussoleno, xliv, 112
Tiberiopolis. *See* Sarajevo
Tiberius Caesar, rebuilds Salona, 147 *n.* 3
Ticino, river, 107 *n.* 2; Pindar's party cross the, xliv, 108
Tierney, M. A., his *History and Antiquities of Arundel* referred to, 100 *n.* 1
Tillart, Pindar's party pass through, 131, 131 *n.* 5
Times Newspaper, the, reference to Garraway's coffee-house in, 14 *n.* 11
Tokely, Captain, visits Pindar at Venice, 92, 93
Tondja, river, 156, 156 *n.* 1, 211
Tonkin, Thomas, his remarks on Peter Mundy, xiii, lxii; gives the name of Mundy's father, lxii; states that Mundy intended to publish his MS., lxii; gives extracts from Mundy's MS. in his *Collections for the History of Cornwall*, lxii
Tōp-Khāna, the, at Constantinople, ordnance at, 39, 39 *n.* 2, 197; descriptions of, 39 *n.* 1, 191
Torquemada, Cardinal Juan, rebuilds S. Pablo, 140 *n.* 3
Torre di Confini, 101 *n.* 4
Totnes, Mundy's father apprenticed at, xiii
Tour in France and Italy, A, referred to, *see* notes on pp. 99, 107, 117, 125, 128
Tournefort, N., his *Voyage into the Levant* referred to, *see* notes on pp. 20, 32, 33, 52, 64
Tournon, Rue de, in Paris, 126, 126 *n.* 1
Toury, Pindar's party lodge at, xlvii, 123, 123 *n.* 6
Tower, The, at Brescia, xliii, 104, 104 *n.* 5
Trajan Gate, the, 61 *n.* 2
Trajan's Column, in Rome, 196
Transylvania, 68 *n.* 4
Trebizond, 191
Tremogh, Cornwall, residence of the Worths, lxiii
Triana, a suburb of Seville, xxi, xxi *n.* 1
Trilj, 85 *n.* 2
Trimontium. *See* Adrianople
Trois Carreaux, Les, at Nevers, 235
Troy, supposed site of, xxiv, 20, 20 *n.* 2, 157; note on the actual site of, 157 *n.* 3
Truro, xiv
Turbans, Blount's story of the origin of, 153
Turin, Mundy's route from Spalato to, xlii, 84 *n.* 4; capital of Piedmont, xliv, 109, 109 *n.* 3, 116; Pindar's reception at, xliv, xlv, 109, 110; Coryat's description of, 109 *n.* 3; Mundy's route to Paris from, 109 *n.* 3; distance of, from Sian, 109, 109 *n.* 1; Symonds' description of, 109 *n.* 3, 234; French inhabitants at, 110 *n.* 4, 234; Duke's gallery at, xliv, 111, 111 *n.* 2, 111 *n.* 3, 234; Pindar's escort from, 111; route over Mt. Cenis to, 112 *n.* 1; horses hired from, to Lyons, xliv, 119; Symonds' journey from Dover to, 217–235; country around, described, 233, 234; the Duke's stable at, 234; "walks" in compared with those at Calais, 234; cost of horse hire from Lyons

to, 235; cost of certificate of health at, 235
Turkey, Mundy's travels in, lxi, 1; map of, in *Rawlinson MS.* A. 315, 6 *n.* 1, 30 *n.* 2; distances in, how reckoned, 136, 136 *n.* 8; Sandys' *Travels* in, 192 *n.* 3; travelling in, the night chosen for, 212; punishments in, lv, 55–58; amusements in, lv, 58, 59
Turkey Company. *See* Levant Company
Turkey merchants, 15 *n.* 3, 47 *n.* 1; Sir John Eyre's unpopularity with the, 181
Turkish ensigns, 65
Turks, the, religion of, 26; conduct of, at a feast, 37; their usage of Christians, lvii, 67, 67 *n.* 3, 67 *n.* 5, 68, 68 *n.* 3, 152, 205, 206; take Candia from the Venetians, 91 *n.* 6; Blount's remarks on, 146; their attempts on Zara, 147; Sir John Eyre's unpopularity with, 181; destroy the Kerkoporta, 193 *n.* 2; build mosques, *khâns*, bridges, etc. as acts of reparation, 212, 213, 216
Turpentine Tree, the, 29, 189
Tuscany, Duke of, presents a statue of Henri IV. to Paris, 125, 125 *n.* 5

Uscocs, the, piracies of, xxxvii, 81 *n.* 6
Usundji, river, xxxi
Utrecht, treaty of, gives Milan to Austria, 105 *n.* 8
Uzeda, son of the Duke of Lerma, supplants his father, 140 *n.* 2
Uzunjova or **Usunchobi**, Pindar's party dine at, xxviii, xxxi, 54; other spellings of the name, 54 *n.* 1

Valdogosto, 88 *n.* 5
Valentinian, Emperor, builds the aqueduct at Constantinople, 48 *n.* 3, 195
Valjevo, Pindar's party encamp near, xxxvi, 78; men staked near, 78; *Kâzî* of, sends a guard to Pindar, 78; Blount's remarks on, 78 *n.* 3, 149; description of the country from, to Sarajevo, 78–80, 148, 149
Valladolid, Mundy attends the Chancery Court at, xvi, li, 139, 145; Mundy's description of, li, 139, 139 *n.* 4, 140; rise of, in importance, 139 *n.* 5, 140 *n.* 1; other names for, 140 *n.* 1; the Duke of Lerma buried at, li, 140, 140 *n.* 3; chief buildings at, li, 140, 140 *n.* 6, 141, 141 *n.* 1; Mundy stays four months at, li, 141, 162; salt evaporated near, 142
Valtellina, contest for the, 153, 153 *n.* 1; situation of the, 153 *n.* 1; neutrality of the, assured, 153 *n.* 1; murder of Protestants in the, 153. *n.* 1
Vega, an open plain, xxi *n.* 5
Vega de Sevilla, fertility of the, xxi, xxii
Venetian Arms, the, at Lonato, xlii, 103
Venetians, the, their quarrel with the Bosnians, xxxvii, 81, 81 *n.* 6; watch-towers erected by, xxxix, 87; Suçuraz taken from, 85; Spalato under the rule of, 85, 86, 147
Venice, part of Dalmatia under the rule of, xxxix, 85, 86; John Clarke hires a house for Pindar at, xl, xli, 87, 91; sanitary laws of, xli, 87 *n.* 1, 90 *n.* 1; Zara under the rule of, 88 *n.* 3, 148; Pindar's party reach, xli, 89, 136, 214 *n.* 4; arsenal at, xli, 89 *n.* 6, 93–97, 97 *n.* 1; castles at entrance to, xli, 90 *n.* 2; natural defences of, 90 *n.* 2; Coryat's description of, 91 *n.* 1; Bargrave's description of, 91 *n.* 1; nobility at, xlii, 91, 91 *n.* 5; English soldiers at, xl, 92, 92 *n.* 3, 92 *n.* 6, 93, 93 *n.* 2; ambassadors at, xli, 93; ceremonies at, on Ascension Day, xli, 95, 96 *n.* 1; bridges at, xlii, 28, 97, 97 *n.* 5, 97 *n.* 6; gondolas at, xlii, 97, 98; St Mark's Square and Tower at, xli, 97, 97 *n.* 2; Mundy's description of, xli, xlii, 98; Pindar's party leave, xlviii, l, 98; Randolph Symes returns to, 101; post-road from, to Milan, 101 *n.* 4; description of the country from, to Orzi Nuovi, xliii, 105; extent of the territories of, 105, 105 *n.* 7, 106; Blount's voyage to, 146
Venice, Doge of, his marriage to the Adriatic, xli, 95, 96 *n.* 1
Venice, Gulf of, Pindar's party cross the, xli, 89, 89 *n.* 7
Vera Cruz, 6 *n.* 2
Vercelli, siege of, xliv, lv, 108, 108 *n.* 6, 110 *n.* 5; under the Duke of Savoy, xliv, 108, 108 *n.* 5; taken by the Spaniards, 108, 108 *n.* 6; surrendered to Savoy, 108 *n.* 6; re-taken by the Spaniards, 108 *n.* 6

Vermilion, Mundy takes a consignment of, to Patna, 8
Verona, caroches hired to, from Padua, xlii, 100; water-mills at, 72 *n.* 4; amphitheatre at, xlii, lix, 101, 102, 102 *n.* 1, 102 *n.* 2, 103, 103 *n.* 4; inns at, 101, 101 *n.* 5; distance from Vicenza to, 101 *n.* 6; description of, 101, 102 *n.* 1
Viana. *See* Avigliana
Vicenza, Pindar's train lodge at, xlii, 101; distance from Padua to, 101 *n.* 2; inns at, 101, 101 *n.* 2
Victor Amadeus, Prince of Piedmont, marries Christine of France, xlv, lv, 110 *n.* 4; heir of the Duke of Savoy, 110 *n.* 6; sends a present to Pindar, 116, 116 *n.* 1
Vienna, Sulaimān the Great desires the subjugation of, 195; Des Hayes travels *viâ*, to Belgrade, 214 *n.* 4
Villa Nuova, Pindar's party dine at, xlii, 101; situation of, 101 *n.* 4
Villiano. *See* Avigliana
Vilna, Mundy's intended journey to, 6
Vincentio. *See* Castello, Vincentio
Vineyards, in Northern Italy, Mundy's description of, xliii, 105; Symonds' description of, in France and Italy, 105 *n.* 4, 229, 233, 234
Vitri, kills the maréchal d'Ancre, 129 *n.* 1
Vittoria, Mundy's visit to, l, li, 139, 139 *n.* 2, 139 *n.* 3, 141; George Wyche imprisoned at, l, li, 139, 139 *n.* 3
Vivian, Charles, passenger on the *Royall Merchant*, xxiii, 15; a member of the East India Co., 15 *n.* 2; son of Hannibal Vivian, xxiii; apprenticed to Sir Morris Abbot, xxiii *n.* 4; made free of the Levant Company, xxiii *n.* 4
Vivian, Hannibal, of Trelewarrein, father of Roger and Charles Vivian, xxiii
Vivian, Hannibal, son of Hannibal Vivian, senior, xv; marries Richard Mundy's sister, xv; his brothers sail to Constantinople with Peter Mundy, xv
Vivian, Roger, passenger on the *Royall Merchant*, xxiii, 15; a member of the Levant Company, 15 *n.* 2; son of Hannibal Vivian, xxiii; travels with Sir Thomas Abdy, xxiii *n.* 4
Vivians, the, connected with the Mundys, xv, xxiii
Viziers, at Constantinople, their duties, 36 *n.* 4
Vologda, Mundy's intended journey to, 6
Vrekli, Edward Wyche buried at, 164
Vulcan, I., 17 *n.* 3
Vulcanello, I., 17 *n.* 3
Vulteius, besieged in Salona, 147

Wadmore, J. F., his *Account of the Company of Skinners* referred to, 159 *n.* 1
Waggons, hired from Constantinople, xxvii, 44; discharged at Belgrade, xxxvi, 72; hired from Dover to Gravesend, xlix
Wake, Sir Isaac, English ambassador at Turin, xliv, 109, 109 *n.* 7; his reception of Pindar, xliv, 109; knighted, 109 *n.* 7; escorts Pindar from Turin, xliv, 111
Wales, Mundy's travels in, xvi, 9, 11
Wallachia, 201
Walpole, Horace, Lord, his *Anecdotes of Painting* referred to, 217 *n.* 1
Wanley, Humphrey, his description of *Harl. MS.* 2286, lx, lxi
Wardeman, Joachim, his ship taken by Mainwaring, 92 *n.* 5
Water-mills, at Lyons, 119, 119 *n.* 3, 149; at Belgrade, 73, 119, 119 *n.* 3, 149; at Sarajevo, 82; on the Loire, 122
Watts, Thomas, master of the *Expedition*, 7
Weaver, George, Mundy lives with, at Sanlucar, xvii, xx *n.* 4, 14
Westminster Abbey, a church in Beauvais compared with, 221
Westminster Hall, compared with the Hall of Audience at Padua, 99 *n.* 5
Whetenall, Lady Catherine, her journey from Brussels to Italy, 106 *n.* 7
White Lion, the, at Lyons, 119 *n.* 5
White Sea, the, Mundy's voyage to, 9, 11
Wiccia, a province of Mercia, the name Wyche derived from, 158
Wiche, James. *See* Wyche, James
Wiches, Old English name for salt-pits, 158
Wilkinson, Sir J. Gardner, his *Dalmatia and Montenegro* re[f]
to, 81 *n.* 6, 85 *n.* 4, 85 *n*
n. 4

Willbraham, Thomas, factor, 8
Williams, John, Abel Guilliams apprenticed to, xxvii *n.* 3
Wilson, Mr, Master-attendant, incompetence of, 169
Wilson, Anthony, travels in Pindar's train, 41; made free of the Levant Company, 41 *n.* 7; leaves and rejoins Pindar's party, 44, 48; allows Thaddeus Murād to return to Constantinople, xxxvi, 76; accompanies Mundy in Paris, xlvii, 124
Winchester, Mundy's visit to, xvi
Winge, Captain, joins Pindar's train at Padua, 101, 101 *n.* 1
Withers, Robert, his account of reception of ambassadors at Constantinople, 36 *n.* 4
Withers, Robert, travels in Pindar's train, 42
Wolstanholme, Sir John, case of Lane *v.* Payes referred to, 42 *n.* 2
Women's Court, the. *See Avret-Bāzār*
Woodhouse, William, escorts Pindar from Constantinople, 44; made free of the Levant Company, 44 *n.* 3
Woolwich, Captain Downing inspector of cordage at, 168
World, the, map of in Mundy's MS., 1 *n.* 1, 6 *n.* 1
Worth family, the, possessors of the Mundy MS., lxiii; Mundy's connection with, discussed, lxiii
Worth, Dorothy, widow of John Worth, junior, lxiii
Worth, John, junior, of Tremogh, lxiii
Wotton, Sir Henry, English ambassador at Venice, 108 *n.* 6
Wyche family, the, Mundy's connection with, xxvi, liii, 14 *n.* 9, 156 *n.* 7; account of, 158–165; originally settled in Worcestershire, 158; derivation of the name, 158; genealogical table of, *facing* p. 158
Wyche, Abigail, 5th daughter of Richard Wyche, senior, 159; predeceases her father, 160
Wyche, Abigail, daughter of Richard Wyche, junior, 161
Wyche, Anne, 4th daughter of Richard Wyche, senior, 159, 164; legacy from her father to, 160; marries Mr Charleton, 164
Wyche, Bernard, grandson of Sir Peter Wyche, 165; merchant in the East India Co.'s service, 165
Wyche, Sir Cyril, great grandson of Sir Peter Wyche, 163; becomes a baronet, 163; title extinct on the death of, 165
Wyche, Daniel, 3rd son of Richard Wyche, senior, 159; predeceases his father, 160
Wyche, Dorothy, wife of Henry Wyche, 164
Wyche, Edward, 8th son of Richard Wyche, senior, 14 *n.* 9, 159, 160, 161 *n.* 2; known by Mundy, liv; escorts Pindar from Constantinople, 45, 47, 47 *n.* 1, 164; merchant at Constantinople, 164; made free of the Levant Company, 164; returns to Constantinople, 164, 165; goes to Scio, 164; dies, 161 *n.* 2, 164, 164 *n.* 4
Wyche, Elizabeth (*née* Saltingstall), wife of Richard Wyche, senior, 160, 161; death of, 161; will of, 161
Wyche, Elizabeth, 2nd daughter of Richard Wyche, senior, 159, 160, 161, 163; marries Job Harby, 163; death of, 163; where buried, 163; bequests of, 164
Wyche, George, 4th son of Richard Wyche, senior, 14 *n.* 9, 159, 160, 161; Mundy's acquaintance with, liv; imprisoned at Vittoria, li, 139, 139 *n.* 3, 162, 165; brother of Richard Wyche, 139; legacy to, 162, 163, 164
Wyche, George, grandson of Sir Peter Wyche, 165; a merchant at Pondicherry, 165
Wyche, Henry, 11th son of Richard Wyche, senior, 159, 160, 164, 165; Mundy acquainted with, liv; marries Dorothy —, 164; family of, 164
Wyche, Sir Hugh, mercer, Lord Mayor of London, 158; buried in Lothbury, 158; will of, 158; ancestor of Richard Wyche, senior, 158
Wyche, Jacob, brother of Richard Wyche, senior, 158; member of the Skinners' Company, 158; will of, 162
Wyche, James, Mundy takes service under, xv, xxiii, liii, liv, 10, 14; 7th son of Richard Wyche, senior, xxiii, 14 *n.* 9, 159; goes to Constantinople on the *Royall Merchant*, xxiii, xxv, 14, 160, 175; dies of small-pox, xxv, 23, 136, 160, 165
Wyche, James, a Director of the East India Company, 160

Wyche, Jane, daughter of Henry Wyche, 164
Wyche, Jeane, daughter of Richard Wyche, junior, 161
Wyche, Julius, 9th son of Richard Wyche, senior, 159, 160, 164, 165; Mundy acquainted with, liv; will of, 162, 163, 164, 164 *n.* 4
Wyche, Lady Jane (*née* Meredith), wife of Sir Peter Wyche, 163; joins her husband at Constantinople, 164
Wyche, Mary, 3rd daughter of Richard Wyche, senior, 159; predeceases her father, 160
Wyche, Nathaniel, 12th son of Richard Wyche, senior, 159, 160, 164; Mundy acquainted with, liv; a director of the East India Co., 164, 165; president of Surat, liv, 165; dies at Surat, liv, 165
Wyche, Sir Peter, 6th son of Richard Wyche, senior, 159, 160; his diplomatic post in Spain, 163; knighted, 163; ambassador at Constantinople, 156, 163, 165; Blount's visit to, 156; offers employment to Mundy, liv, 156 *n.* 7; marriage and family of, 163, 163 *n.* 4
Wyche, Sir Peter, junior, son of Sir Peter Wyche, 163
Wyche, Peter, grandson of Sir Peter Wyche, 165; a merchant at Cambrai, 165
Wyche, Rebecca, 6th daughter of Richard Wyche, senior, 159, 160, 164, 165
Wyche, Richard, father of Sir Hugh Wyche, 158
Wyche, Richard, of Davenham, father of Richard Wyche, senior, 158
Wyche, Richard, senior, a London merchant, 14 *n.* 9; known to Mundy, liv; son of Richard Wyche, of Davenham, 158; marries Elizabeth Saltingstall, 158, 159; family of, liv, 158, 159, 160; member of the Skinners' Co., 158, 159; connected with the East India Co., 159; director of the Levant Co., xxiii, 159; member of the Muscovy Co., 159, 161; death and burial of, 159; will of, liii, 160; inventory of the effects of, 160, 161
Wyche, Richard, junior, eldest son of Richard Wyche, senior, 14 *n.* 9, 159, 160, 161, 165; member of the Levant Co., 161; Mundy stays with, in Mincing Lane, 136, 161; Mundy enters his service, l, liii, liv, 137, 138 *n.* 2, 156 *n.* 7, 162; brother of James Wyche, 137 *n.* 7; executor to his father's will, 161; sends Mundy to Spain, l, lii, 138, 161, 162; sends Mundy to Colchester, 143; illness and death of, li, 143, 162; family of, 162; bequests to the children of, 164
Wyche, Richard, eldest son of Richard Wyche, junior, provided for by his grandmother, 161, 162; serves the East India Co. at Bantam, 162
Wyche, Samuel, 5th son of Richard Wyche, senior, 159; predeceases his father, 160
Wyche, Susanna, eldest daughter of Richard Wyche, senior, 159, 160, 162
Wyche, Thomas, 2nd son of Richard Wyche, senior, 159, 160, 161, 162; Mundy acquainted with, liv; made free of the Levant Company, 159, 162; goes to "Muscovy," 165
Wyche, Thomas, of Alderley, nephew of Jacob Wyche, 162
Wyche, William, 10th son of Richard Wyche, senior, 159; predeceases his father, 160
Wyche, William, nephew of Richard Wyche, senior, 160
Wyche, William, son of Henry Wyche, 164

Xaral, place planted with the cistus shrub, xxii *n.* 1
Xarall de Sevilla, Mundy's description of the, xxii
Xerxes, his encounter with Leonidas, 152 *n.* 6; musters his army on the plain of Adrianople, 156; his bridge over the Hellespont, 157, 157 *n.* 2
Xio. *See* Scio

Yadra, river. *See* Jadar
Yagodin or **Jagodina**, Pindar's party halt at, xxix, xxxiv, 70, 70 *n.* 7; a *palangha* at, xxxiv, 71 *n.* 1; description of, 70 *n.* 7, 203; Des Hayes halts at, 203
Yard, John, factor in the East India Co.'s service, 7
Yedi Kūle. *See* Seven Towers, the
Yelkeeoy, Pindar's party pass through, 61; location and modern name of, discussed, 60 *n.* 5
Yengheekeoy. *See* Yeni Khān

Yēngi cheri, new soldiery, janissaries, 43 *n.* 2
Yengi kyuy, the new village, 60 *n.* 5
Yeni Khān or **Novi Khān**, Pindar's party halt at, xxix, xxxii, 60; various spellings of the name, 60 *n.* 5; on the borders of Roumania, 209
Yriarte, Charles, his *Les Bords de l'Adriatique* referred to, 85 *n.* 4, 86 *n.* 3; his *Venise* referred to, 95 *n.* 1
Yteeman. *See* Ikhtiman

Zante, the *Royall Merchant* sails to, 16, 166, 168; earthquakes at, 18 *n.* 3, 19; Lithgow's description of, 17 *n.* 3; currants produced at, xxiv, 18, 18 *n.* 3; no corn grown at, xxiv, 18, 18 *n.* 3; subject to Venice, 18 *n.* 3, 19; Sandys' description of, 18 *n.* 3; Struys' description of, 18 *n.* 3
Zara, Pindar's party sail past, xl, 88; a garrison of English soldiers at, xl, 88, 88 *n.* 3, 92 *n.* 3, 93 *n.* 2, 147; description of, 88 *n.* 3, 147, 147 *n.* 2; coveted by the Turks, 148
Zarekeeoy. *See* Pirot
Zaribrod, Mundy's halting-place, xxix, 66, 66 *n.* 3; country around, infested with robbers, xxxiii; Pindar's uncomfortable lodging at, xxxiii, 66; inhabitants of, flee on Des Hayes' arrival, 206, 206 *n.* 4
Zechin, *zecchino*. *See* Sequins
Ziani, Sebastiano, Doge of Venice, 96 *n.* 1
Zindana, tower, at Belgrade, devised for the execution of criminals, 151; compared with the Gemonia in Rome, 151, 151 *n.* 1
Zodiac, signs of the, on the roof of the Louvre, 126
Zrni Lug, possibly Mundy's "great Lake," 84 *n.* 7

ERRATA

p. xxxix. *For* Clyssa *read* Clissa.

p. 2 *n.* 5. *For* Penrhyn *read* Penryn.

p. 26 *n.* 6. *For* 1st ed. 1615 *read* 7th ed. 1673.

p. 32 *n.* 2. For the corrections of the errors in this note, see p. 193 *n.* 2.

p. 33 *n.* 2. *For* Constantine *read* Theodosius.

p. 80 *n.* 4. For *Routen in Bosnia*, read *Reisen in Bosnien.*

pp. 85 *n.* 4 and 88 *n.* 3. *For* De Bauveau *read* De Beauveau.

p. 105 *n.* 1. *For* Orzivechi *read* Orzivecchi.

p. 109 *n.* 4. *For* Charles Emanuel II. *read* Charles Emanuel I.

pp. 126 *n.* 3, 127 *n.* 4 and 128 *n.* 4. *For* Marie de Medicis *read* Marie de Medici.

p. 129 *n.* 2. For *Add. MS.* 22078 read *Add. MS.* 22978.

p. 162. *For* George, third son of Richard Wyche, *read* George, fourth son of Richard Wyche.

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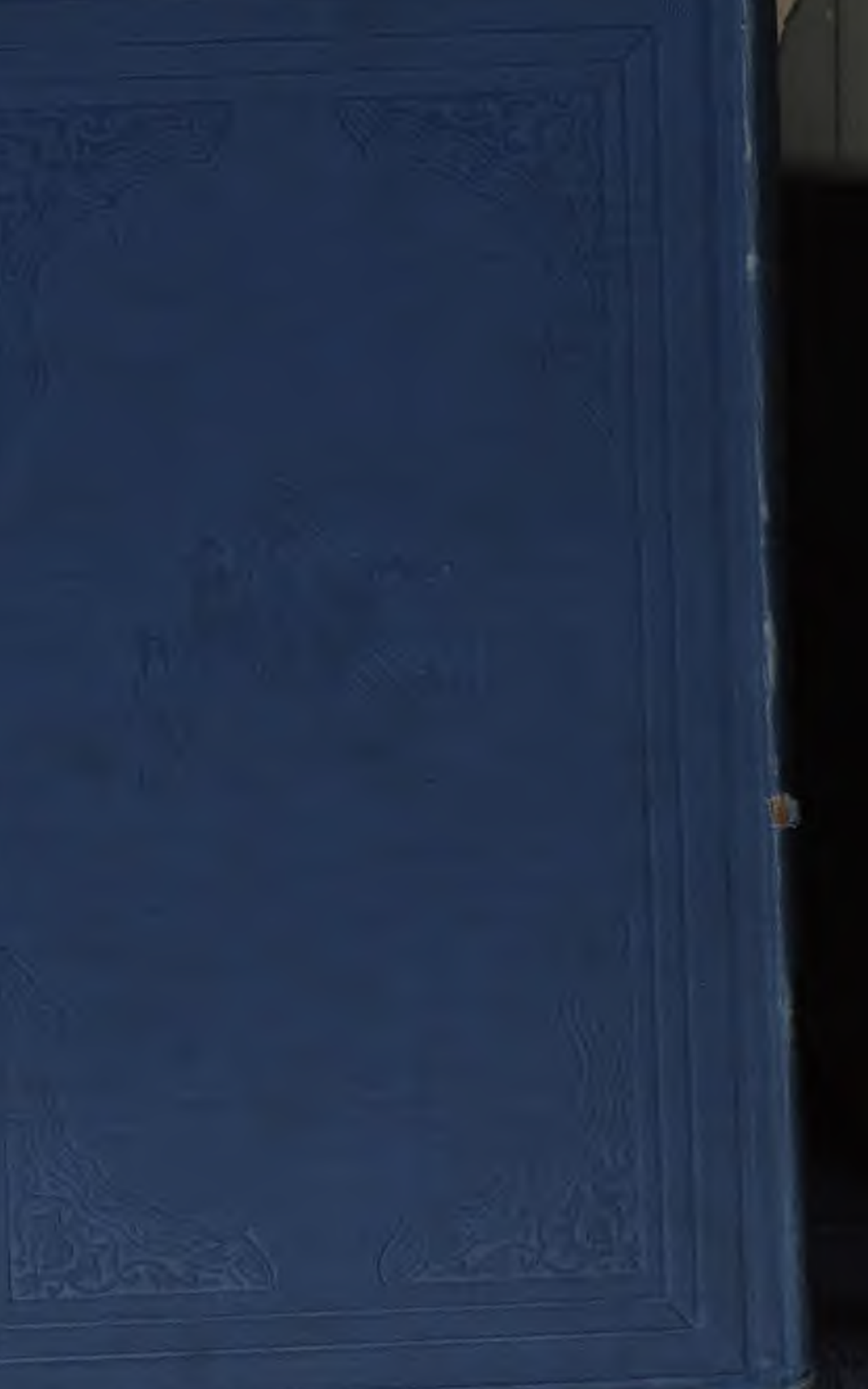
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